●787

/For information on visions, quests for visions, dreams and omens, see category 116, pp. 513-539, pp. 547-558, pp. 588-595 and pp. 599-692./

vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When 177
a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the 773
path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it
reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it 775
assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmāt·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it.

Knowledge of *Nusmāt·a* has been inherited almost entirely 772
from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident:

> Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His 772
> sorrowing father kept wondering: 787 ●
>
> "Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"
>
> Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Ālquntām* had recalled him to *Nusmāt·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmāt·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmāt·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella 772
Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. 776 *
These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return [775]
to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Snulqulxāls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmāt·a* is *Ālquntām*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid

77 what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it,
*776 symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind.
In other respects *Nusmät·a* has no peculiarities. Behind the
house is an enormous tree, *Tx̣ınx̣ın·iaqim*, in the branches of
which live innumerable owls.

*776 After this description of *Nusmät·a*, it is logical to return
[821] to its master, *Ălquntäm*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon
and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an
interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers
[782] are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman
is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he
feels it is done with the sanction of *Ălquntäm*. At every winter
solstice he enters *Nusmät·a*, where supernatural beings from
all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This
assembly is called *qulxwaix*, and *Nusmät·a* is termed *Nusqulxwaista*[7] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform
kusiut dances, similar to those carried out by members of the
kusiut society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Ălquntäm*'s
entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush
forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the
crush. Only three[8] advisers, including *Sexsexk̇älaix* (I, p. 41),
remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human
beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kusiut*,
who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision
rests with *Ălquntäm*, though he is influenced by his counsellors.
●[787] Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided
for them.

538 *Ălquntäm*, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations
*776 of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella
Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings,
especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

---

[7] Often pronounced *Nusqualxwaista*.

[8] The exact number is uncertain.

838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been
not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered
bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Sx̣unts* is responsible
for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily
understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does
he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Setsaläni*, "The Voice Repeater." The
Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and
recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *kusiut* or *susaok* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed
human beings *for so many generations that he is accordingly*
neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
●787 had unpleasant visitations is *Slhmsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous
head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmät·a*,
but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers.
If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has
just seen *Slhmsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to
escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually
aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Slhmsila* can avoid him by
painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings
thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola.
They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them,
and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the
course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective
type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the
781 mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious
being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good 781 expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering 776* powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought.

One of the beings for whom the older people have a profound 776+ respect is *T̓łitcāplilān·a*, a supernatural woman whose home is in *Nusmāt·a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She 787● can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *T̓łitcāplilān·a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with [752] power to cure. At other times *T̓łitcāplilān·a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *T̓łitcāplilān·a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX.

T̓łitcāplilān·a, though her great power inspires fear, usually 776* behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly welcome 761 her. But it is quite otherwise with *Sxaiaxwax*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.[11] He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number

---

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 42.

* 776
825
845

Fish, too, are regarded in the same light. Indeed, there is a particularly close affinity between men and salmon, for twins are born through the instrumentality of the latter. Just how this occurs no Bella Coola knows, but a twin and salmon are regarded almost as brothers. In days when men were more powerful than now, a twin was especially liked by animals. Through his connection with salmon, a *ko'la* (the term applied to a twin associated with a salmon) could understand the speech of birds, animals, and fish. In many instances he could also assume salmon form at will.

* 776
787
825

In view of beliefs of this kind it is not surprising that the Bella Coola attribute great powers even to beasts well known to them. In the story recorded in vol. I, p. 55, the War-Party of the Tides was summoned by the speaking of a dog. A belief persists that danger is always present when a dog acts in an unusual way, though this can be avoided by killing it at once. In July, 1922, a visit was made to an elderly Bella Coola early one morning. The man was in a state of absolute terror. The preceding night he had locked his pet dog outside his house to give warning if anyone approached, but when he awoke in the morning, it was curled up asleep as usual at the foot of his bed. There was no possible hole through which it could have entered, so it seemed to the owner that his dog must have transformed itself into some minute animal and made its way beneath the door. The only other explanation was that its master, hearing in his sleep the whimpering of his pet, had got out of bed to let it in, without remembering that he had done so. To the writer this seemed the probable explanation, especially when the old man admitted that he had been in the habit of walking in his sleep in his younger days, but the Bella Coola was not satisfied. He could not decide whether or not to kill the dog, a great favourite, but finally decided not to do so. The incident was mentioned to another informant, who was greatly worried and assumed it to be an omen of death to the dog's master. His only comfort lay in the fact

that the animal had not spoken, a sure intimation of insanity 776*
and death unless it is killed immediately. 787 ●

A few years ago a dog gave warning to its master by placing 825
its paws on his shoulders as he sat on the ground, and howling over his head. Such unusual behaviour should have convinced him of the necessity of killing his pet to avert some calamity, but he paid no attention to it. A few days later, it seemed to him that he saw the face of a friend appear at an uncurtained upper window where no human being could be. The next morning he found an axe, which he had long lost and supposed stolen, imbedded far up in a tree near his house. These three [762]
incidents all presaged disaster, and a few days later he shot and killed himself when crazed by drink.

The actions of wild animals are considered even more important. Not many years ago a famous Kimsquit hunter saw a bear and attempted to shoot it. He raised his musket and took careful aim, but was prevented from pulling the trigger. This should have warned him of the potency of the animal, and of the wisdom of avoiding the spot in future. The bear moved away without molesting him, but exactly one year later he was killed by a mountain goat at precisely the same place. No one knows which supernatural being had chosen to assume two forms in that locality.

The Bella Coola believe that animals, being supernatural, 776*
have powers and abilities which they conceal from the white 825
man. Wolves do not kill their prey with their fangs, but with bird arrows which shamans alone can see; beaver do not cut with their teeth, but with crook-handled adzes. Even more striking is the virility of yearling mountain goats. An old Bella Coola described how he and another man were once hunting goats. His partner killed a fat yearling, which they laid on its back and skinned. The killer was about to dismember it, when the animal began to kick. First it shook one hind leg, then the other, then in succession each fore-leg, and lastly its head. Then the goat stood up and gave itself a shake, which caused the skin to return to its proper position,

774 of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers
of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on
this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been
made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of
the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *xux-
mänoäs*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it
belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of
a man is not mortal, but *siut*. Everyone, man or woman, rich
or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be im-
possible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with
food and care, and *Älquntäm* provides the even more necessary
invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back
of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf.
Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible,
[756] whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit
in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in
strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and
has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the
activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little
[556] labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling
at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has
become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are
● [787] desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola
believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained
by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it
causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit
[828] formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a
man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and
hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which
has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant
place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men
even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active
one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away
the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped.
The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no acci-
dent, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active
spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what
is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eye-
lids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827]
occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before [787]
him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thought-
ful person pays great attention to indications such as these,
knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future
and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The im-
portance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged
from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to
an element of this nature.

Mentality, *silk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in
ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance,
if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men
hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas
others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as
one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object
somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not
until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do
not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which
is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Āl-* [761]
quntām for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than
the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical [827]
state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Ālquntām* to mortals.
The connection of these two elements with the spirit is un-
equivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back [753]
of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [755]

It is the life that suffers
761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dangerous,
[752] but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the
[827] little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy
774 seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings in *Nusmāt·a* to greet *Āłquntām*. It is common knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above, its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to escape the heat of *Āłquntām*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
● 787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Āłquntām* and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to 831
hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set 785
out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several
days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases [224]
known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a [783]
male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on [838]
the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by
no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a
man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he
makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, [525]
good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a
potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may [431]
not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his
guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies [575]
himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way [535]
a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every [787]
desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means
of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in
many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous [777]
ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial
chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the
present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old
white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search
of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe
that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on [753]
account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically [777]
and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened,
whether automatically or through the agency of *Älquntäm* is [755]
uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their [774]
hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the
power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how [773]
the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," 556* 769
and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of
the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with 476
which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how 556*
important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of 602
this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but
unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man [583]
cannot become a chief except through large payments made
by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. [622]
In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his
wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by [581]
the ability of her family to give him financial support. In
some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a
potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not
common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is 556*
quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very 787
hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas
another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to
the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the
latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a
man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are
entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of
chief.

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to 556*
the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member
of the *susaok* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified,
lack importance through his previous failure to give large
presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed
quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing,
canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kásäw-a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves. BB 539 BC 539*

Soon *Kásäw-a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kásäw-a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Susaok ORIGIN MYTHS

As already stated, many *susaok* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *susaok* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *susaok* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *susaok* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella. BC 773 551 575 [787 556 177]

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Susaok* NAME, *Spuxpuxṣ̌ā·mpdimut*[illegible]

About 1840, a party of *X̣uxais* Indians[illegible] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so BC 539* 609 424

[illegible] Related by Joshua Moody.

[illegible] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *kusiut* dances BC [829]

further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches 842
immediately after the delivery of a child.

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as im- 826
portant as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged
at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *snaiáx*, a 844
word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing 783
which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it.

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions 845
to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births
are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon [825]
into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human.
Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers
her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple [787]
birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one [756]
foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed.
If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the
horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, [847]
no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth.

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remembered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River. [758] [825]

[778] [787] After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life, but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

845 825 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

775 dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail.
He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound
went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified,
he realised that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back
[754] to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that
he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both
of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to
help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it
[755] a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped
the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames.
Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qaxolān·i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo-qwa·i*, was encamped at *Saskwanuts* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognised from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qaxolān·i* experienced
neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say
that this being may-not have been a ghost as he had thought,
[776] but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have some-
what the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed
to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that
they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered
their character to such an extent that they are avoided and
756 kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to
775 a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason
and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried
787 with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and
[766] undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching
to the surface. The relative desiring information summons
to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

from ghosts, and for four days feeds them lavishly. On the fifth morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans.

756
775
787
[198]

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

ACCOUNTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.*

539
775

A Rescue from Ghosts

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

---

*These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does 755
not herself come to do so. 756

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his curing [782]
basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once,
sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner 755
drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If 756
it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon re- 789
cover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water;
if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction,
it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the
door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until
it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the consensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the box slightly.

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to
Thimdpiliits a. It is generally known that she likes to receive 755
things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, 782
some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By
so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness
will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person 751
in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the 782
central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same
time asking *Thimdpiliits a* to help guard him.

(v) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit 755
of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have 756
been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing
himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and [771]
produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick

755 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after
[777] the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some
787 feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Tlitcaplitana.* It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a [illegible], and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
756 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or
787 rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it, or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
756 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

756
789 cealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[778] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. [776] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781
789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

756
755 mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

756
789 This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

756
787 As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as theme. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nusqalst* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also decorated, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

756
782 A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Tlitcapilitsa*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

756
783
841
jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must
[755]
[785]
never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman practises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

756
761
Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Tłitcäplitän·a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

539
756
The following was related as an instance of the danger to a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[783]
[841]
[787]
The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nalleax* was, like his father, named *Dadasony*". One April he and his wife went upstream to *Xwantle*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudusonx̣ʷ* saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudusonx̣ʷ* and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudusonx̣ʷ* that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance.

539
756*
787 ●

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudusonx̣ʷ* from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Sinxl* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death.

539
756*
[761]
[783]
[841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Thitcăplilān-a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence.

756*
[787]
[833]
[513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

* 756 stated, there is a tendency for such ability to be granted to the descendants of shamans, but this is not necessarily the case. A shaman can instruct his child and so increase the latter's chances of a vision, but the parent can do no more. A single exception to this concept was noted but the following incident was regarded as absolutely inexplicable, a thing beyond expectation or comprehension.

* 756
● 787 A certain Kimsquit shaman had the supernatural being from whom he had derived his power actually resident in his body. At the time he obtained the gift, his benefactor had spoken to him.

"Henceforth," it said, "I will live in your right arm, my head located near your wrist, my tail near your elbow. When you cure a sick person place your arm against whatever part of his body is affected and I will draw forth the sickness with my mouth."

Thanks to this assistance, the shaman was able to perform marvellous cures, as the being never failed to suck out the disease. Though aware of his supernatural guest, the shaman himself never saw it except when he summoned it to cure a patient; then it came forth from his arm, though no one else could see it. When he had blown away the sickness, in the usual manner of shamans, the supernatural one returned within his arm, out of sight.

When the shaman grew old he called a friend to him and asked him to receive his power, telling him where, and how, it was localized. The man consented. The shaman then began [198] to talk in the language of supernatural beings, as shamans often do, and presently the supernatural one came forth and became visible to the friend as a small lizard-like creature sitting on the palm of the shaman's hand. This frightened the friend and he declined the creature on the ground that he lacked ceremonial purity, hence his body was not a fitting receptacle. The shaman urged him to receive the creature, but when he continued to refuse, allowed it to return to his own arm. When the shaman died a few years later the friend bitterly regretted his own cowardice, for the wonderful cures stopped, whereas, had he accepted the supernatural guest, he would have been able to perform them. 756* 787●

SHAMANS FROM THE DEAD

There remain to be described shamans from the dead, whose abilities and prerogatives are almost identical with those already described. They obtain their power either from the visitation of a ghost in this world, or by a journey to the land of shades below. The following incident explains why shamans alone can hold converse with ghosts. 756* 775 787

Once, long ago, the lover of a young girl died. She was so heartbroken that in her agony, four days after his burial, she lay down on his grave to weep. The dead man was able to visit her and in due time she gave birth to a child, who, like its father, was a ghost, with drawn face and glaring eyes. The perturbed woman tended it in the forest, her love overcoming a feeling of repulsion, and when she returned to her home she endeavoured to prevent her own mother handling the infant, knowing that she would be horrified. The grandmother insisted, but as soon as she saw the ghastly appearance of the child she dropped it in horror, and the infant vanished. [539]

Since then there has been a barrier, resembling a wall of smoke, between mortals and the dead. If the old woman had not dropped her grandchild, the living would still be able to converse with their deceased friends and relatives.

Nowadays, shamans alone are able to lift the barrier and discourse with the ghosts of those who have departed. These are quite common visitors to the land of the living, but only a shaman can understand their languages, of which one is a series of whistles, and the other resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless individual. Shamans can learn what the dead require and so transmit the knowledge to the relatives of the deceased. As, long ago, shamans whose powers were derived from animals were able to teach mortals the proper methods of hunting, and the taboos enjoined, so a [198]

* 756 shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and
775 learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing
thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order
● 787 to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to
the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from
ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account
describes.

539 Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain
* 756 woman, *Sikwalxwlelix* by name, left her house one evening for a few
minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her
775 mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she
787 tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her
blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of
[828] using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central
fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was
recognized that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several
[755] shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their
efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frantic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Tsiswatl*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sikwalxwlelix called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

understand. She was also able to gaze downwards at the edge of the 756*
central fire nearest to the door. 775

Ånotäbäkmots, an old shaman from the dead who died not [787]
long ago, obtained his power by chancing to visit their land. [539]
The themes of his songs were of the land of the dead where, he said, there were many people; where those who had been rich on earth were rich, but where those who had been poor were still poor; where those who had been blind could see, and those who had been maimed were whole. He told of *Pälüätl*, a legless [776]
creature who lives in the land below, but can travel with amazing speed. In fact this shaman stated that it was he who was sent when the ghosts wished to communicate with the living, a statement contradicted by others. He told further [776]
of *Kaewikudjän·a*, a supernatural woman resident there, who is able to pick berries with phenomenal rapidity. But this talent avails her little, since her basket is full of the teeth of dead men who devour the fruit as fast as she picks them. It was *Ånotäbäkmots* who described how in the land below there were only two enormous trees of the kind known to the Bella Coola as *klp*, under the shade of which the ghosts played a game resembling football with huge, light balls.

A dead person usually chooses one of his own relatives as 756*
the proper person on whom to bestow the power of a shaman, 775
but their actions in this respect can neither be coerced nor
cajoled. Ceremonial chastity is of assistance, and power can 787
usually be obtained by anyone who lies four days and four nights, face downwards, on a new grave. Nor does every sight of a deceased person bring with it this faculty; in fact, ghosts are greatly dreaded since they usually cause harm to the beholder. On one occasion the mother of an elderly Bella Coola woman left the house one evening, to return shortly with her face screwed up into a ghastly smile, green in colour, and with saliva dribbling from her mouth. She was quite mad. A shaman from the dead succeeded in curing her, or it may have been in restoring her to life, and she was able to tell how she had seen what she took to be a man with face averted. She

* 756 called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was
775 obvious that she had seen a ghost.

● [787] It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the
dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels
753 which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though
* 756 he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled
from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire
775 for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man
[264] thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness
into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask
their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear
the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their
deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated
ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman
755 from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and sometimes
* 756 to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and
at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives
desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the
dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the
violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner receives
[465] payment from those whom he has helped. There are no
fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

* 756 The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already
been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to
787 learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes
694 to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by
755 shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield
* 756 to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark
782 vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire,
one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on
either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By
each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved
to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark.
After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or
without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they
not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have
been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in
the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often
results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw
off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease,
is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been
[868] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to
assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also
aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so
that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act.
789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result,
they realize the importance of the power of thought. For
[771] example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some
end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their
thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The
following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British
Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley,
far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren
[787] mountains. One night, *Âlquntäm* came in a vision to one of
the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

"Someone is calling your name." 827
If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said:
"Someone has food ready for you." 481

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones
may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761]
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 856
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this
custom is known.[19]

---

[19] This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 500.

CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES 000

General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE *Kusiut* SOCIETY

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives 575*
of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described
it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral
part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a
secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately.
The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according 575*
to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. 192
Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Super- [776]
natural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations.
A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*,
plural, *kukusiut*.

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. 551
If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type
of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* 575*
name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of [124]
the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or
other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation
is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for 535
about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an
atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its pre- 575*
liminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for 796
this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days
after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence
early in November and are continued until March.
During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate [787]

535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort
is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected
to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
At the presetnt time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes
[424] in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until
he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to
be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella
Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not 575*
inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and 774
asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps 755
forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is [784]
thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell
an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from
him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a
shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands,
warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from
the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to 575*
an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief 774
should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect 626
for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure
proves that the practice has not become standardized; those
who are not members of the society believe and do not test the
claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is 575*
ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural 787 ●
beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Älquntäm*. As 776
already described, it is believed that a supernatural element
from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time 796
but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging 777
to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, 761
therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe
by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every
dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their
due share. When, however, *Älquntäm* enters, he is so big and
so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop
their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall,
and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial
season. This same fate may befall even those who are not
members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability
to appreciate what has happened.

*575 787 776 796 *Âlquntâm* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with *Saxsaxēlaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Âlquntâm*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform certain dances of the type known as *kusiotem* (II, p. 128), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 796 787 776 535 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *yeux*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Âlquntâm* in the performance of the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

---

*575 787 776 796 184 [828] [1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Âlquntâm* and his assistants, *Smaiaxlila*, [illegible], *Snuxalh*, and *Senxalolela*. Others were equally emphatic that *Âlquntâm* is the *kusiut* name of the supreme deity, and that *Senxalolela*, *Smaiaxlila*, and *Snuxalh*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Âlquntâm*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers. These two opinions are not so basically different as appears at first sight. A man is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

Furthermore, throughout the ceremonial season, the uninitiated 575 ▸
have ocular demonstrations of the powers with which 796
the *kukusiut* are associated. At frequent intervals they are
invited to the house of the dancer where, with wonder, fear, 781
and awe, they see strange creatures. Although they may recognize
that some of these are only their fellow-tribesmen in
strange form, they have no idea how such transformations are
produced, and ascribe them to supernatural assistance. They
accept the strange designs of the figures as proof that the
kukusiut have been in contact with unfamiliar beings. It seems
clear that the uninitiated do not realize that the representations
are produced by means of masks, the work of human hands;
instead, they believe that the figures displayed are really those
of supernatural patrons who have come to earth to assist their
protégés. It must be remembered that these dances take place
within large houses, only partially illuminated by a flickering [354]
central fire, which facilitates deception and conjuring tricks,
quite apart from the credulity of the observers.

The uninitiated may sometimes suspect that the performers 575 ▸
are not real supernatural beings, but there is no question of
their firm conviction concerning the changes which come over 781
the *kukusiut* at this time. One member of the society, for 787 ●
example, may begin to act in a peculiar manner and at once 796
the uninitiated are ejected from the house. From without they
listen with mixed fear and excitement to the strange noises
which they do not know are made by whistles, and presently
the *kusiut* rushes forth in a frenzied state, biting those he
meets. The uninitiated know that he is a Cannibal, doing as
his patron above is doing, and that a call from the latter has
caused him to become mad. When the *kukusiut* have subdued
him and taken him back to his house, the non-members hear
more strange and inexplicable sounds, which appear to go
upwards, and presently the news is circulated that the Cannibal
has been carried away to the land above. He is seen no more
for several weeks, and when next he appears he is thin, wan,
and bald, because the high winds of the land above have blown

*575 796 781 [789] the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sympathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to [966] [961] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

*575 778 987 424 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut* to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the performance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is equally well known that his specific power has been brought to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, nuxkákiatote (also called nusni'tjote), by the supernatural woman *Ânu'likwutsaix*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its [776] repository and in each of these is *Ânu'likwutsaix*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the 575*
patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could 787●
only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain
the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Anuˀlikwotsaix* travels 424
only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every [778]
kusiut dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and
pointed chin (see Plate 13),[5][4] who "explains" the significance [776]
of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated:

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one
singled out for *Anuˀlikwotsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all
in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and
ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children [776]
that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves,
Anuˀlikwotsaix bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her
fingers like a dancer.

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tsa*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to dis- 575*
guise themselves as *Anuˀlikwotsaix* and move around in the 778
autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near
for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* preroga- 425
tives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nułaxem*, an

---

[5] [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]
[4] (Apparently 'Plate' 1 is meant)

*575 this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which
424 they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three
773 origins:

(a) It was brought down by the first people. Before
778 coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his
[781] patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

[787] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[4] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described
[184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nunudjignim*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alquntäm* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Ånoʼlikwotsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out
*575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his
778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

---

[4] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 567 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used. *575 796

Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kukusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kukusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Anu'likwutsaix*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[778] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. [787 184] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Anu'likwutsaix*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[*]

---

[776] [*] According to one old Bella Coola a statue of *Anu'likwutsaix* also remains in every repository.

B: McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG Bellacoola NEG

[The Dance of Noakenim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 [illegible], whence its captain leaps to [illegible] to await
the coming of [illegible]. The crew consists of a number of
supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with
the ceremonial on the night of [illegible]. This canoe, which
brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts
but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine,
[illegible] lowers first one side and then the other of his craft
so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a
time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
785 times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
83 that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels
787 without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are
sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the
bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that
the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent,
but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
634 patron was [illegible], but that the chiefs requested him
776 not to upset established ritual by too much logic. [illegible]
is patron for several [illegible], who are believed by the unini-
872 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
774 the [illegible] dances begin.

184 It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
924 slight variations, if any. In [illegible] the [illegible] who has the
55 prerogative of seeing [illegible] is a certain [illegible],* in
Kimsquit, [illegible],** and in [illegible], [illegible]. Although,

---

115 *Details of this dance were learnt from the father of [illegible], who volunteered
436 that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
578 referred to the holding of this designation by her father and said that the present
user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this
kind.

**Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as
if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many [illegible] names have significances of this
type.

[The Dance of Nuskanim]

*375 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*776 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[559] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
[777] the Bella Coola. Long ago the members would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

[205] As the time draws near for *Nuˀalhpsam* to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the older *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Nuˀalhpsam* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers,[3] who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the east, and calls out:

● [157] "Once more I see what I saw last year,"[4] or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

[773] It is believed that *Nuˀalhpsam* must round four points before reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe paddling up one of the long fiords.

*[203] Some of the members are always in readiness and one of them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The community
*575 comes in, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*776 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
559 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nuˀalhlikmtum*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X in having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[202] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

E: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola [illegible]

[The Dance of Nuhliqwem]

778 776 X is supposed to be gazing constantly to the west, watching for another sight of *Nuhliqwem*. With the aid of a friend, X arranges his eagle tail head-dress on a box so that it projects above the wall of the platform as if he were sitting within. The uninitiated understand that X is watching, and the motionless feathers confirm their belief. Meanwhile X remains hidden in the back room, never leaving the house except when necessary, and then only under cover of night.

778 776 On the fourth day after his first vision, X stands up and cries out:

Yuqkik, "The Point."

777 553 The significance is that X saw *Nuhliqwem* as he appeared around the first point. A herald is at once sent out. First he repeats loudly the exact words used, then departs to call the *kukusiut* to X's house. When they have taken their places the singers beat out a new song previously composed, the second for X. The dance describes how *Nuhliqwem* is rounding the first promontory, in his craft which is often likened to a cloud or a flock of birds. This they practise, before carrying sounding-boards and drums to the lowest house in the village, where the singers and a number of *kukusiut* take up their stations. When all is ready X enters, the women utter their dancing cry, and, to the accompaniment of the beating of time and the singing of his new song, he dances around the fire. This same procedure is carried out in every house of the village, working from the bottom upwards. Finally all return to X's house where they receive food and the usual admonitions from a watchman. Then they disperse. This is about 11 a.m.

X again climbs to the platform where his head-dress is arranged as if he were sitting constantly gazing towards the approaching *Nuhliqwem*. For four days he remains hidden, and on the morning of the fifth he again cries out:

Yuqkik.

This time it signifies that the supernatural one has rounded a second promontory. The same ritual is repeated, the calling by the herald, the meeting in X's house, and the procession to

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, 575
describes what *Noâkxnum* is doing on his journey, as if X were 796
relating what he saw. The *kukusiut* return to X's house for 787
another meal and the admonishments of a marshal.
For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning 593
of the fifth day he once more calls:

Yahále.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Noâkxnum* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Noâkxnum* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that
Noâkxnum is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his
craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella
Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which
flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X
alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house [203]
to house repeating the announcement. The *kukusiut*, too,
visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers
always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the
words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had
composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight.

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Noâkxnum* is in the river itself. He has reached the home [776]
of the Resident; *Ixmimátlnais* is mooring his craft. *Dukduká-*
mos and *Âlâlkmkinam* are greeting him."

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The 575
uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural 796
beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth
of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the 776
[203]

s 575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimâlnais*, "The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Noäkxnum's* craft. *Dukdukânmem* is sent by *Smaian-a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Noäkxnum*, and with him come *Smaian-a's* son, *Ālālkmāktnum*,[10] to assist *Noäkxnum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukusiut*. The Resident is also known as *Āmiäkiis*.
s 796
776

s 575 The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Numâlam* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numâlam* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Noäkxnum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Noäkxnum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or three days shorter in *Snut* and the upper villages than in *Qomqo·ts*. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
s 796
● 787
[593]
[805]
[821]
[184]

s 575 As already described, *Noäkxnum* travels to *Smaian-a*, whence he leaps to *Nusqalxwaista* and places his pole within the house. All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Alquntäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Noäkxnum* seizes his
s 796
773

---

[10] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues 796*
for four days more, in a manner typical of *kusiut* dances. Only [778]
variations from the pattern about to be described will be given
in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come 575*
to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. 796*
In the evening a herald summons the *kukusiut*, this being the
night of *lnatámem*. In *Stuix* the call used is: 184

Skimap Stuxwam, "Cure, ye *Stuix* people," because it is 203
believed that a call almost kills a *Stuix* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Snuparaldimut kukusiut, "Bring light, ye *kukusiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with reference to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of 575*
where he may happen to be living. 796*

All the *kukusiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are 533
glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only. When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made [787]
X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.* As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all,

---

*This song, like the ones used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

575 796 184 since a certain *kusiut* has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the mask of *Anu'likwotsaix* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

575 796 787 Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *kukusiut* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *kukusiut* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *kukusiut* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Awakaalimut ols amitaxpen, "Go back to your ancient home."

These ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *kusiut* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nusqalxmaix*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the kukusiut disperse. It is obvious that every *sxlxcam* must vary according to the *pxlxm* of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *kusiut*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *sxlxcam* is *lxatalmaw* for another dancer.

575 796 802 282 For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any 575*
case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have 796*
had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been black- [302]
ened, it must be kept so during this period. At every potlatch [292]
he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial
season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an [774]
uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is
taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except [834]
in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes [288]
to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Alquntam enters *Nusqalsmutis* at the winter solstice, and 575*
at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. 796*
It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony 787
of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, 773
Nusikpsus seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaist*, 825
and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Nusikpsus* empties a large number of olachen into the river.* X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Nusikpsus* is 575*
patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just de- 796*
scribed, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the 787
ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Nusikpsus* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Anukluqʼiqsmtut*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

---

*Nusikpsus is accordingly also called Nuskiuxus. [776]

[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are now expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[illegible] On the morning of the fourth day,[illegible] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

575*
796*
[532]
[302]

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[illegible] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drum. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above coming down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

[535]
[789]
[787]

[illegible] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[illegible] It is probable that X must first lie down when *[illegible]'s* dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

[illegible] It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual perspectives.

[184]
[424]

[The Dance of Wil.a]

575 796 782 The last to seat himself is *Kulilias Nuskâmpta*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemxemâlatla*, holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemxemâlatla*, accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *haip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemxemâlatla* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Ômqomâikda*, for example, X says:

[534]
[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Woodpecker-coloured | is the place where he sits, | the recipient,
[illegible]
Ômqomâikda.

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Tlicâpliâm-a*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X 575 796 787 continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud is heard on the roof while some *kusiut*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the uninitiated know is the voice of the call. Whether they be-

---

[184] In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a *kusiut* who has this prerogative in connection with the game *[illegible]*.

[776] His other name is *[illegible]*, "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

[illegible] is one of the larger woodpeckers, the species could not be identified.

This designation, properly applied only to *Xemxemâlatla*, is often used for his brothers as well.

[126] These words are virtually sung, each vertical line marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the music for the National Museum of Canada; record VII D 8a; singer, Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

lieve the thud on the roof, which is made by an accomplice, is 575*
the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. 796*
All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests [787]
other than Kimsquit or *Tál·io kukusiut*. One is tempted to [556]
conjecture whether or not the donor of the potlatch does not use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show a disposition to linger too long.

The call having come to X, this is the day of *lustámem*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *kukusiut* to
assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of 575*
sticks, *four times repeated*, the singers seat themselves behind 796*
the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried 593
out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends [787]
to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as if teaching.

The theme is always of the supernatural patrons and how the offering attracts them. Since only *kukusiut* are present and since they all understand the methods, this part of the ceremony may be slighted.[*] The singers beat out and sing the song a number of times, softly, as if practising, then more loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full strength while X dances. Later in the season when many *kukusiut* have performed, and there is danger of the songs being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night
of *lustámem* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, 575*
the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other 796*

---

[*] Even when no uninitiated are present, the *kukusiut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which ultimately affects themselves.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *746 *I*…, and *ae*…," revolving sunwise at the same time. *Anu'likwulsaix* does not fail to point out to the uninitiated:

"That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

*575 *746 552 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Anu'likwulsaix* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukusiut* disperse.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kusiut* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kusiut* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. [776] There is thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kusiut* patrons and [illegible] deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any connection necessary; ● [787] in fact, X usually obtains his call like any other *kusiut*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. *575 *776 787 On the night preceding that chosen, the *kukusiut* are called to X's house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukusiut* are often sent up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

---

[922] [illegible] A phonographic record was made of this, National Museum of Canada, record VII D [illegible]; singer, Jim Pollard.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drum and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *kusiótem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for Omqumilikila when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brothers obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Alquntäm*, *[illegible]*, or *Kāmai'aq*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

575* 796* 424 [781] [796] [787]

[781] [791] [424]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[Ke Cannibal Dance]

575 796 among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast. [171] [602]

[424] [184] The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which [illegible] of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rites; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to [illegible] as X, and to use the present tense throughout. [113]

A meeting is held at which the members and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some pretext that a member announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountain near the village. The instruments used are of the usual blade type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed [illegible], is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, [illegible].* [787] [534] [776]

---

*[illegible] to life of those who [illegible]. The Bella Coola [illegible]. The noise which [illegible] who throughout the [illegible] village. By bending [illegible] and apparent [illegible] blown, and when [illegible] man, who starts [illegible]. As the second [illegible] in this way [illegible] that it cannot be [illegible]. If a non-member [illegible] prisoner, keeping [LI5]

[The Cannibal Dance]

575* 796* 787

Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly:

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *kukusiut* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

[172] About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *kukusiut* have assembled. The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *kukusiut* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a [242] long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *kukusiut* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

575 946 787 restraining him bend too, throwing him back into the centre of the circle with the aid of the rope and their bodies. Meanwhile the women are drumming, and some of them pound on the floor with sticks; intermittent calls of *hoip* and the sound of the whistle add to the weird confusion. The circle of *kukusiut* often revolves around X, each man jumping in time to his neighbours, so that the din is increased. After about ten minutes, the circle gradually contracts to a double line, and the rope is slipped over X's head, as if tying up a dangerous beast. One end is given to a *kusiut* willing to have a call, and he goes around leading X as if he were a captive animal. The heralds go to every house to report what has taken place.*

Towards dusk two young *kukusiut* are sent up the mountains. Soon after the sun has set, members of the society gather on the sidewalk outside X's house, to which X is led. He is still struggling, and the *kukusiut* press close around him, as if to restrain him; thereby effectually concealing everything from the uninitiated watching from the doorways of their houses. At a signal from one of the senior *kukusiut*, all the members of the society shriek out *ye* ·· at the top of their voices. At the same time X, aided by his fellows, slips from his rope and hides himself within a box-drum, which is then carried back to his house. Warned by the cry, the two lads up the mountains forthwith begin to growl. This furnishes clear proof to the uninitiated that X has been able, owing to the power within him, to slip away from the closest bonds of his fellows and travel aloft. In answer to the growls from above, a *kusiut* with a powerful voice calls out:

"Go aloft on the right road. Your power will enable you to escape the dangers. But do not stray from the narrow trail."

[184] In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the *kukusiut* then go to every house, crying and wailing, thinking of the Cannibals

---

* It is not clear whether or not the uninitiated are sometimes present at the roping.

9

who have gone aloft and never returned,[35] and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,[36] one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *[illegible]*, "The Actionless Night," or *[illegible]*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse. 575* 746* 787 ● [184]

The next day, *waciatàlap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *haip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 746*

On the morrow, the rope-holder's gatlim, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the [787]

---

[35] If a Cannibal dies during his period of disappearance he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends. [766] [772]

[36] This consists of the [illegible] beating of sticks, repeated four times. [761]

[The Cannibal Dance]

575 society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance.
796 Thenceforth the *kusiut* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a
797 dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back-room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a brew of roots that produced emaciation. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *kukusiut* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a *[illegible]*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *kukusiut* and allot tasks to various individuals. Sev-
[802] [772] eral *kukusiut* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.*

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *[illegible]*, the *kukusiut* make their final arrangements. When
[803] they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then stamp on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Xwe·, ewe·, ewe·: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *kukusiut* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The women drone, while the men rush out to capture the returning X. The uninitiated hear the sounds of feet rushing over the roof, as if a furious chase were taking place, and presently a loud *ye*--- comes to their ears. Having been told on previous occasions that this assists a Cannibal who is compelled to travel through space, they realize that he has escaped his would-be captors and returned above.

---

*One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a sharpened piece of iron; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

575*
796*
787

Then the herald goes around the village calling:

"Young boys! Get up, see, the Cannibal is at hand!"

In the early dawn, whistling is heard from the upper slopes of a near-by mountain and the uninitiated, watching eagerly and fearfully, behold a man clad in a bear-skin, who moves around, running fast across slides, and finally dashes down one and disappears into the forest, when the whistling ceases. They assume that this is the returning Cannibal; in reality, it is a *kusiut* who has been sent out to perform this deception. Two go together, one to lie hidden and use the whistle, his companion to appear; the latter must be a strong man, able to run easily over rough slopes because it would lessen the Cannibal's prestige were the uninitiated to see him fall. After about five minutes' silence, the whistling is heard on the river bank at a point over a mile from where the supposed Cannibal vanished into the forest, and as before a bear-skin clad figure appears. The non-members assume that it is the figure previously seen, and that he has been able to penetrate the dense forest in some mysterious manner; in reality it is another pair of helpers, one of whom shows himself while the other uses the whistle. Meanwhile other *kukusiut* go to X's house where they paint themselves black and don cedar-bark ornaments. When ready, they set out to catch the Cannibal, travelling on two canoes across which planks have been laid, but not tied, and steered by a skilful waterman at bow and stern. They land at the place where the Cannibal was last seen, and pretend to hunt him. For the benefit of the uninitiated, watching from the village, they spend a considerable time at this, failing at first, but at length succeeding. Sometimes they drive their

*575 quarry into a converging "v" of hunters, or someone may lie
*796 down as bait to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking
787 pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The preliminaries are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft; about two hours is the usual time consumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, *ye* · ·, is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the *kukusiut* left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning on the canoes hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely destroyed his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong *kukusiut*, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the *kukusiut* to cure him. The uninitiated are allowed to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal enter into him; if this cannibalistic incubus[illegible] can be driven out by beating time, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding-boards have been prepared previously,
[534] as well as a number of birch sticks with which the *kukusiut* beat time. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. At first X prowls around the house,

---

[778]
[104]

[illegible] This expression will be used henceforth as an interpretation of *[illegible]*, the power in form of an animal which, having entered a man, compels him to eat strange foods.

closely guarded by his attendants, but as the noise continues, he gradually becomes quieter and at last consents to sit down in a certain spot with other *kukusiut* ranged on either hand. After four rounds of beating, there suddenly appears beside X the head of an eagle, wolf, or bear, according to his prerogative. This is his cannibalistic incubus, driven from him by the successful beating of time. The head, usually a real one, has been carefully fixed by the carpenters, so that it can open its mouth, move its eyes, and give other signs of life. If it is a wolf, assistants concealed behind the row of *kukusiut* flanking X wave to and fro a gigantic wolf tail, lending further realism to the performance. The incubus vomits pieces of meat, presumably the pieces of human flesh which X has devoured; in reality they are morsels passed into the back of the head by carpenters, concealed behind the row of *kukusiut*. The uninitiated see the flesh fall into a box placed before X's feet and watch steam arising from it, but they do not know that hot stones have previously been laid within to cause this. As the meat passes out through the creature's mouth, X bends down and bites at it like an animal (see Plate 5), while all the *kukusiut* present stand up and call out *yo·* four times. After the fourth shout the animal's head is concealed, though the uninitiated believe that it has returned to the land above whence it came to enter X. The Cannibal is now tolerably sane; his guardians no longer press so closely around him and non-members and many of the *kukusiut* leave the house. 975* 796* 787

Another subterfuge to impress the uninitiated is sometimes employed. Instead of permitting the departure of the incubus at once, another Cannibal is chosen to receive it from X. While two guardians hold X firmly, other *kukusiut* seize the prospective recipient so that the two are standing face to face, each held motionless. The second Cannibal stretches his head forward and pretends to draw something from X. At once he begins to growl and throws himself to and fro as if in frenzy, while the uninitiated are told to leave, lest they come to harm. They need no second invitation, especially as the new recipient

{[See category 116, p84(b) - [illegible]]

T. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

475 is writhing so violently that it appears as if it would be only a
786 few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely
789 guarded by a band of *kukusiut*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to escape, and to be restrained by the *kukusiut*. All the time he growls and calls out:

ī ....

The call of one can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the [illegible] is finally brought and the cannibalistic incubus returned by the call of *ya* .... four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed
[539] two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land aloft, and the other the return of the incubus which made him a flesh-eating brute. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *kusiut* ceremonies, since there is no [illegible] and no [illegible]; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at ritualistic [illegible].

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first summoned to X's house, and later the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *kukusiut* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the
[535] song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *kukusiut* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hāmāmai, hāmāmai, hāu', hāu'.

[71] It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

[538] X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

775*
776*
787 ●
553

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

775*
776*
787
553
772

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in retirement, the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

[764]
[761]

Alquntam under his various names.

How his powers helped him to escape the *[illegible]*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

[776]

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *[illegible]*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

[776]
[761]

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,* and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one member after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

775*
776*
787

---

*There is difference of opinion on this point.

the rites satisfactorily. Towards midnight the gathering breaks up.

Many of the younger and more athletic kukusiut sleep in X's house, ready to assist him in the "Running Song." About an hour and a half before dawn the uninitiated are awakened by confused shouting and growling from X's house; above the din rises X's ghostly, wai, wai, wai.

The shouting and noise lead to a spot at the rear of the village, whither X has gone with the musicians and about twenty kukusiut. Presently the singers begin to chant forth a new song, X's third, of which the theme is again the Cannibal's adventures in the land above; the uninitiated readily believe that he has taught the singers these words, though they had been unable to hear them from within the house. There is more shouting as X runs to a second place behind the village, where the same song is used once more. When this has been repeated four times, X is led back to his house.

For four days the uninitiated remain in a constant state of terror. Although the expulsion of the cannibalistic tendency has tended to restore X's sanity, he is still wild, unable either to eat or sleep. Twice every night the madness overcomes him, and he dashes from his house, barely restrained by his faithful kukusiut attendants. Eager for the flesh of human beings, he rushes to the doors, breaks them down if they should be closed, growling furiously, but his guardians always succeed in dragging him out before he does any real damage. This is repeated at every house of the village. Since the uninitiated are too frightened to look out, it often happens that a substitute takes the place of X on these semi-nightly excursions. During the day he remains within his own house, concealed, on a platform built for him between the fire and the back-room.

On the fourth evening, the fifth after his return from above, the kukusiut are summoned to his house to soothe him so that he will lie down on this platform and rest. The uninitiated, listening eagerly but fearfully, hear once more the sound of the familiar whistle-blowing. The kusiut inform them that X is now sufficiently tamed so that he can lie down and rest, and thenceforth the nocturnal raids on the village are discontinued. 575→ 786 787

X remains concealed on the platform, supposedly without eating, for four days. On the fourth day occurs the ceremony of washing. Early in the morning a herald goes to every house in the village asking for urine and grease extracted from the heads of sockeye salmon. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, to which full chamber-vessels and pots of grease have been taken. No uninitiated are allowed to be present, but from adjacent houses they hear sounds of furious struggling, combined with growling. Presently they see a number of *kukusiut* carrying X, smeared with liquid, to the river. Some informants state that he is actually covered with urine and fish-oil, others that these are merely emptied within the house and water poured over X, that their collection is merely to deceive the uninitiated. At any rate he is taken to the river, where, in spite of his shrieks, kicks, and struggles, he is four times doused by his guardians. Often he seizes stones from the bed of the stream and hurls them at his captors, sometimes bruising them severely. This washing assists in the restoration of X to sanity. He is taken four times to every house in the village, no longer growling and struggling, and a herald announces that he will dance that evening.

Soon after dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned and they practise the four songs composed for X. Then the uninitiated are called in. As his songs are sung, X dances in the usual *kusiut* style, but more violently than most, and growling at intervals. The woman dancer and his four guardians stand close by, spitting into his ears to soothe him.[29] [887] This is done by calling [illegible] loudly close to his head, so that a spray of fine saliva is ejected over him. After dancing, X sits down once more and a speaker calls out that food is to be given to him; he is supposed to have eaten nothing but morsels of human flesh since his departure for the upper world. The women are sent [562]

---

[29] Spitting also occurs frequently in connection with curing by means of the [illegible] [illegible] of saliva.

[The Cannibal Dance]

789
575 away since no female can witness a Cannibal's first meal.
796 Three *kukusiut* are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Olachen grease, dried salmon, dried
[562] meat, and other luxuries are always given to them, and the
[262] uninitiated women are excited at witnessing this collection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day, and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individual by name to provide grease or some other delicacy.

[752] The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is also a *kusiut*. He first dips his hands in the grease, warms them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling Cannibal is held by six or eight *kukusiut*. Members of the society keep calling out *hoip* to soothe X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all desire for ordinary food. Like a maniac he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while the *kukusiut* cry out and the uninitiated watch with fear and amazement. After rubbing the Cannibal's cheeks four times, the shaman shouts out that he is almost ready to eat. The heralds echo his words, and go through the village to inform all of what has taken place. The shaman now puts a few morsels of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and tries to bite pieces out of the utensil itself. Undiscouraged, he puts small pieces of food actually into X's mouth, heedless of the snapping jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the heralds repeat the good tidings.

An effort is next made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel, and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before the heralds repeat his words.

The shaman now tells the uninitiated that X will be all right, but that it will be safer for them to depart, as they leave willingly. Heralds keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

T.McIlwraith B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NBS Bellacoola NBS

675a
176a
142
592
292
787

PLATE 5

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Cannibal with headdress in form of a bear

[p. 84 (e)]

T.McIlwraith B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, tied under a belt. Often the *kukusiut* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *kukusiut* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, [illegible], trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *kukusiut*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *kusiut* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose. 575* 796* 789

The *kukusiut* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the [illegible] addresses him and the audience in the following strain: 575* 796* [339]

[illegible]
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one (the Cannibal)![illegible]
[illegible] *Nuxim.* *[illegible]*
[illegible], dreaded one, *Nuxim.*[illegible] [illegible]

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; [illegible] use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has ceased eating, the other *kukusiut* commence and the [illegible] deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then payments are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his prerogative. 575* 796* 831 826

[illegible] means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." It is so called on account of the [illegible] [187]

[illegible] This is the vocative form of the word. [195]

[illegible] was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded.

plunking around the walls, much to the terror of the uninitiated who cower in their blankets, afraid to pass out lest they be bitten. If X should step upon a loose board on any of these rounds of the village, either before or after the expulsion of his cannibalistic tendency, he is partially deprived of the power of movement. He can only stand up and down, marking time on the wavering plank, until repeated cries of hoiḥ have finally soothed him so that he can proceed. Sometimes the stomach of a seal must be shown him before he can leave the spot. Although no one knows why this should so affect Cannibals, at sight of it he rushes forth immediately. [illegible]

That evening the herald summons the kukusiut and the strangers to X's house. His songs are sung, whereupon X becomes excited and must be cured by the beating of sticks and the four times repeated hoiḥ before he can be induced to sit down. Food is then distributed, while a [illegible] speaks, and presents are given to the bitten strangers, provided by X or one of his relatives. Such gifts are often of trifling value but the recipients must never show that they think so. [illegible]

For the remainder of the ceremonial season X goes to all dances under the guardianship of a number of kukusiut. His apparent wildness and ferocity overawes the uninitiated and helps to convince them of the force of the rites. Sometimes he dashes forwards and with an overmastering desire to devour. X's guardians will cry out that he has become excited; the uninitiated hastily hide and the Cannibal rushes from house to house, ripping off boards and acting as if demented. If friction should arise at some ceremony when only members are present, X often plays a prominent part. For example, in one dance the kukusiut rush around the fire, guided by a rope; sometimes a mischievous man will double it so that the participants are thrown violently against each other. Everyone is excited by the noise of the beating sticks, and the growling of the Cannibals, so that loss of temper is not uncommon. But if X rushes out of the door, the necessity of maintaining his prestige with the uninitiated overrides every other considera-

[The Cannibal Dance]

& 777; & 776; 554 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut* to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *[illegible]*. The essence of this is that a friendly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded in four days. & 777; & 776; 787

After the relevant rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from the house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *[illegible]*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers have set a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time. [779]

The next day is *[illegible]*; a second song is composed and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the following supernatural beings: [652; 776]

[illegible], who has benignly interfered to save X from visiting the dangers of a trip aloft.

[illegible], a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *[illegible]*, "Holders," who restrain *[illegible]*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

[illegible].

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two songs are sung, all that are needed when a Cannibal does not go to the land above. 575 796 787

On the following day, *qotlem*, the masks are manufactured and the ritual proceeds in the normal manner. In the evening the uninitiated are invited to watch the dances, at which X is the first to perform, lengthening his face and protruding his lips to their greatest extent in order to frighten his beholders.

The ritual of the next evening, *sulacam*, corresponds to the usual pattern. Before the entry of the uninitiated, X has concealed himself so that nothing can detract from their awe at sight of the masked figures. *Alquntam* stands in state behind the fire, sometimes announcing his own name, while *Snut'lkulhals* moves to and fro, adding to the solemnity of the occasion with her explanations, echoed by the heralds. *Alqotlam*, represented with blood-stained lips, moves around the fire, restrained by the three Holders, and the audience is told that this is how they act in the land above. When the guests have gazed sufficiently on these marvels they are sent away, and the masks are burnt in the usual manner, accompanied by the gentle singing of one of X's songs. Late at night a number of *kukusiut* go with X to the sidewalk outside his house, where they expel his call by pressing upwards with their hands against his stomach and calling *hoip*.

For the rest of the winter X conducts himself in the manner of any *kusiut* who has danced. 575 796

Although similar in outline, the prerogatives enjoyed by Cannibals differ so considerably that no clear picture of their [illegible] can be obtained without detailed descriptions of several. The following is an account of a dance carried out by *[illegible]*, a biting Cannibal of *Nusqalst*. It was obtained from one of the attendants who, of course, understood the details of every performance. The origin of the name is unknown, although the informant believed that it had been created in this world by the chiefs in consequence of the manner in which a distant ancestor of the dancer had been in the habit of biting people [424] [115]

575
796

Towards evening he summons the *kukusiut* to the Cannibal's house. As before, X starts to beat time, but swiftly goes into a wild frenzy of pounding from which he is soothed by repeated cries of *haip*. Then the singers take the stick from him and sing over a new song which they have composed for him; this being the fourth time that the *kukusiut* have assembled, it is X's fourth song, with the usual Cannibal dance. At dusk food is given, the attendants admonish their onlookers and the gathering breaks up.

Presently, as night is falling, the *kukusiut* return. When they have taken their places, they call the uninitiated, who enter, but remain standing near the door. X passes to and fro around the fire, not completing the circuit, but stopping and retracing his steps when he has passed as far as the upper, upstream, side of it. He assumes a threatening appearance, holding his arms stretched out to their full length, his fists clenched, while, as if to prevent him running amuck among the non-members, two *kukusiut* go constantly with him, one on either side, uttering the cry of *haip* at intervals. At times these two guardians simulate an attempt to thrust him into the back-room, but he always eludes them and continues around the fire. Meanwhile the singers, with the *kukusiut*, sing over X's songs; as each is finished the Cannibal's ferocity appears to rise within him so that he growls, and his guardians call out *haip* at the back of his neck, accompanied by the emission of considerable saliva. This is repeated four times, after each of the songs. When these are finished the uninitiated are sent out and the *kukusiut* eat together while a musical functions; then they too depart.

A number of *kukusiut* always remain with X to act as guardians; they replace one another at intervals without specific order, and there is no compulsion upon anyone to assume the task. When the *kukusiut* have departed, one of these attendants takes the leading part in forcing downwards from X his spirit, the manacle-like power which binds his mouth against ordinary food. All the guardians crowd around X,

[791]

3: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE8 Bellacoola NE8

575 776 787 placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his throat, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the obstacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to rid him of his spirit which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *kusiut*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different individuals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kukusiut* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the spirit. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *kukusiut* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a member gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated, whereupon they all disperse. [781]

[illegible] The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incident and the presence of the spirit. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with spirit, many Bella Coola with incident. 795* 776* 787 154 624

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Qlsdto·i*, of *Sotsl*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was initiated by several supernatural beings. The first *Qlsdto·i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain them from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Qlsdto·i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sotsl* (see Plate 6).‡ It is said that many years ago some malicious uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath 795* 776* 787 773 [624] 795* 776* [116]

‡ [See category 116, p. 84 (?) — Analyst]

[illegible]
[illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

the rock and endeavoured to get it away, but was driven away in fear by the sound of the snarling of wolves which came forth from beneath. It will be convenient to refer to [illegible] as X.

After the customary consultation with the [illegible], it is decided that the call shall come to X on the evening after the [illegible] of some other dancer. Soon after dark he begins to growl and stands up naked; the call has come to him. He acts as if dazed, tries to talk, but the words [illegible] choke in his mouth. The uninitiated are expelled from the house and a herald goes out, crying through the village:

"X has been smitten with the power of eating dog."

One is killed and handed to X.; he pretends to eat, but actually gives the body to an assistant who throws some of it in some hidden spot. As X. takes the animal, a herald shouts:

"X has eaten a dog."

During the day he leaves his house at intervals and parades through the village, accompanied by a crowd of kusiut; his arms are half-folded as if holding a burden which is supposed to be a dog. As he does so, the herald goes from house to house saying:

"The Cannibal has eaten a dog," and "The Cannibal has eaten another dog."

Late in the afternoon the kusiut are called to X's house in order to tie him up and so prevent his escape to the land above. A bear-skin robe is thrown over his body, a rope is bound about him and weighted with sticks, but he frees himself and disappears from sight while members of the society shout loudly four times and an accomplice whistles with varying pitch from a near-by mountain.[illegible] The uninitiated, listening from adjacent houses, are filled with awe and wonder.

The kusiut gather once more in X's house where the rope from which he has escaped is hung on the wall. [illegible] Cannibal after [illegible] impresses on them the solemnity of the occasion and

---

[illegible]

the dangers to which X is exposed, while some of his female relatives weep to further the deception. It is late at night before they finally disperse. 575* 196*

Like other Cannibals, X is now concealed for an indeterminate period of time, during which the uninitiated believe him to be in the land above. It is needless to repeat the details of this part of the rite, nor allude to the shaving of X when about to return. Sometimes the mystery is increased by sending a young *kusiut* to the mountains with a whistle which he sounds at dawn to prove that X is far aloft. When the time comes for his return, the process of catching him is identical with that already described, except that a dog is used for bait instead of a human being. After the capture, the *kukusiut* drag X, struggling violently, to his house, where a dead dog has been left near the doorway. The Cannibal seizes it and pretends to eat, while a herald announces in every house what he is doing. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X goes through the village carrying the carcass in his arms, and carefully shielding his eyes to further the belief, circulated among the uninitiated, that if he should open them, anyone on whom his gaze fell would die. After some of the houses have been visited, the dog is passed to an assistant who conceals it, but those who are not members of the society, having seen him tear chunks from the body and apparently put them in his mouth, naturally assume that the Cannibal has devoured it. This procedure is repeated at intervals throughout the day, and always the herald announces how many dogs X has eaten. The bodies of the animals are weighted with stones and sunk in the ocean at night.

About 4 P.M. X is given a black bear-skin to which the carpenters have attached the head of his cannibalistic incubus, a wolf, in such a way that it hangs beneath his left arm-pit. [181] ● Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this. The skin of the head is carefully removed, the bones are cleaned, replaced, and gummed together, and a hidden string enables the wearer to make the animal's jaws clash. With his

9 575 usual escort, X goes to every house in the village; with one
hand he shields his eyes, with the other he pulls away pieces
8 796 of dog flesh, some of which he pretends to eat, while others he
787 thrusts into the wolf's jaws. As he enters, his associates shriek
and the women drum. The Cannibal does not circle the fire in each house, merely steps within the doorway and then withdraws, making the round of the village four times. Curiosity impels the uninitiated to peer forth from their bedrooms, and the bloody spectacle increases their fear.

X then returns to his own house where an elaborate structure of rising tiers of steps has been built between the fire and the back-room. The *kukusiut* take their places on this, while X kneels immediately in front, on the left* side. A *kusiut* brings from the back-room a cedar box with an upright row of eagle feathers around the upper edge; immediately below these is a ribbon-like girdle of dyed cedar-bark, and below that a similar band of undyed bark. He carries the receptacle around the fire, revolving sunwise on himself four times, and sets it down before X. The box contains hot stones and alder dye, but the uninitiated, who have been allowed to crowd within the doorway, do not know this, nor are they aware that a carpenter is concealed behind X to manipulate the head. This accomplice thrusts pieces of meat through the wolf's mouth from the rear so that they fall into the box, as if the animal were vomiting. At the same time he causes the tongue, that of one of the slaughtered dogs, to go in and out, and X pulls the cord so that the jaws clash together. Steam rises from the box as the meat strikes the heated stones as if it were food warm from the stomach; and clever management makes the scene strikingly realistic. The belief is that the dog flesh eaten by X has passed into the wolf and is now being ejected. When enough has been vomited to give countenance to an assumption that all the animals devoured have been voided, the carpenter pulls the head from sight, as if it had suddenly vanished. The *kukusiut* cry out four times, and someone throws eagle down on the fire; these two actions have the effect of "Making smooth the path of the wolf to the place whence it came." 575 796

---

*As one looks inwards.

X, now freed from the malignant influence, rushes out, and a number of *kukusiut* accompany him to every house, calling out in effect: 787

"I have lost my power."

When X returns, he takes a stick and pretends to endeavour to beat out the time of his own song describing his experiences in the land above. Madness overcomes him, however, and he begins to pound rapidly and aimlessly, requiring to be soothed by cries of *haii*. The singers ultimately chant forth a song supposedly taught them by the Cannibal, but the details of this subterfuge have already been described. Crystals are sometimes thrust into him at this juncture, or the rite may be deferred until the following night. When thus weighted, X retires to his raised platform behind the fire.

The Cannibal remains on this for four days. If necessary for him to leave the house, an accomplice first clears away all uninitiated persons from the vicinity. If, however, X hears the snarling or barking of dogs, he becomes excited and rushes forth. Consequently, the *kukusiut* at intervals bring several animals near to his house and beat them until they yowl. The Cannibal becomes excited, howls like a wolf, rushes out, and, with a few *kukusiut* in attendance, dashes into the lowest house of the village. But the crystals have made him heavy; he can only sit on his heels near the door and gnaw his fingers. The *kukusiut haii* at him repeatedly, until he is sufficiently pacified to rise and walk out. Then he howls again and runs into the next house, where the same procedure is repeated; every dwelling in the village is visited in this way, X finally returning to the platform in his home. During the four days he repeats this performance whenever he hears the yelping of dogs, whether natural or instigated by his fellows.

On the fifth morning, two *kukusiut* gather chamber-vessels. Later in the day the crystals are extracted and water thrown

8 575
4 796
787

over him,[28] followed by the usual immersion in the river. X goes to every house, then returns to his own where another song, describing his experiences aloft, is rehearsed. In the evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more and tie on X a long, tail-like appendage of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. Then a shaman gives him food, and at once he runs to the lowest house in the village. He enters the doorway and calls out:

"I can smell."

This announcement is repeated in every house, signifying that the Cannibal can again appreciate ordinary food.

X spends four more days on his platform, leaving it only when infuriated by the snarling of dogs. On the fourth evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more to learn a song of the usual Cannibal type, and to listen to admonitions from the marshals.

[424]

For four days longer X is secluded on his platform. In the evening the *kukusiut* gather to practise another song, but this time X dances, while the uninitiated watch with fear and wonder from the doorway. After their departure, X's *spiok* is extracted. In this particular dance, its removal is the prerogative of a certain *kusiut* who presses his hands along the Cannibal's collar-bone, forcing the malignant muscle-like power upward and outward. Sometimes his first meal is delayed until this has been done.

8 575
4 796

This concludes X's dance, though he must obey the same restrictions as other Cannibals for the rest of the ceremonial season and, if he is a novice, for the following summer as well.

[424]

Other Cannibals have the prerogative of eating raw salmon. Since these are unobtainable during the winter, carpenters construct imitations consisting of skins of trout stretched over wooden frames filled with the flesh of deer, dogs, or trout. The resemblance is increased by a mechanical device which wiggles the tail. The Cannibal rips these apart with his teeth so that the uninitiated see the meat inside, and readily assume that they are real salmon, while their wonder is increased in view of the difficulty, or impossibility, of obtaining fresh fish in mid-winter.

---

[28] This expels his evil.

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.[*] Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of *kukusiut*, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die.

575*
796*
[424]
[177]
[688]

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation

[424]
[789]
[266]

---

[*] Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola.

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able
*796 to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated
[424] are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes
to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames
previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he
sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then
taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated
peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance.
He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks
his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts
are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes
to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long
[824] period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of
emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of
water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is
expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a
[535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in
front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy
object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this,
only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild
expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his
mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He
has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently
[532] he wears[1] on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see
Plate 7)[A] symbolic of the corpses devoured.

*575 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends
*796 to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[66]
but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge
567 or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a
648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out
blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

---

[66] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

1/A [see category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

In the course of generations, *Ẋnumq* has combined with his self-anthropophagic prerogative that of eating dogs. As already mentioned, such a merging of rights, obtained from different ancestors, is by no means uncommon. The following account of the manner in which he carries out (or carried out, for the dance has not been performed for a number of years) his rite was obtained from one of the Kimsquit marshals. Many details are omitted which have been fully described in former Cannibal dances. It will be convenient to refer to *Ẋnumq* as X.

575*
196*
[424]
[115]
[187]

As with other Cannibals, when the call comes to X he begins to cry out and the uninitiated are expelled from his house, but not before they have seen him sink his teeth into his own arm, and apparently inflict a serious wound. In reality the Cannibal usually cuts himself in anticipation, so that the application of his teeth merely serves to reopen the incision and cause the blood to flow freely. Dogs are given to X, as to other dog-eating Cannibals, and he is escorted to every house, so that the uninitiated may stare with awe upon his blood-stained body and dripping jaws. Later, when he and the *kukusiut* have returned to the Cannibal's home, a herald goes to every house, announcing that his fellows are going to fasten X. The rope used in this particular rite is long and thin, with a small loop in the centre for his neck. It is forced upon X with the usual struggling, and again the herald makes his round, announcing:

"We are measuring his arms for cords of dyed and undyed cedar-bark."

These too are placed upon him, and the *kukusiut* march X, pinioned, to every house, while he growls and gives every indication of being half mad with anger at his bonds. He is taken back to his own house and at intervals throughout the day a herald informs all in the village of the number of dogs he has eaten, and of the number of wounds he has inflicted upon himself.

That night X eludes his captors and is carried away to the

[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575* 796*
Five or six men are waiting for X with them, and as he enters
his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial
sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once
visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need
not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy.
The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril
from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the
Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X,
the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he
observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those
described for other Cannibals.

Snunq's patron is a *snunq* of the Mountain which became [776]
petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778]
spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing
the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [157]
suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by
Qoliankmy, though it is said to resemble the one just described [424]
in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [787]
one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the repository of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [778]
old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575*
Qoliankmy gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796*
performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be
learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar- 178
bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container
of red paint. Uttering his cry of *awa·*, *awa·*, *awa·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his
arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic
representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red
smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

[The Scratch Power]

* 575 They[2] do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do
* 424 most *kukusiut*.

[302] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely
[787] of their patrons.

[533] On visiting a house where a potlatch or feast is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important

[776] than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Snu'alaulx Alquntäm*, one of the sons of *Alquntäm*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

* 575 The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which
* 796 the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher,
[424] *Aleskmais*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Aleskmais* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[2] [i.e., - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As 575*
soon as the call comes, X runs out, begins to throw stones at 776*
these objects, and the uninitiated are at once impelled. X is [777]
usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he commits some malice, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being finished, 575*
the *[illegible]* gather in X's house during the evening to learn 776*
and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a 533
novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *[illegible]* as patron; some have *[illegible]*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to roll up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Sparrows, the meaningless words, 'ahi, 'ahi. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Sparrows only by the words. With the food, 575*
presents are given to recompense those on whom X has dis- 776*
played his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been [431]
broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are [426]
destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their right.

Next morning, excitedly, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of 575*
[illegible] are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When mem- 776*
bers of the society gather in the evening the songs are prac- 592
tised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is 424
of *[illegible]*, four are of Breakers in the land 776
above,* four of supernatural beings who sing there for the
supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *[illegible]*. (343)

---

*The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[The Breaker Dance]

575 losis. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of
796 using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes
[424] in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *gatlim* and *nutacam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their
[424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous
[554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the unini-
[787] tiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely
[828] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. *Nothing further need be said of either gatlim or the preliminaries of nutacam, both of which follow the usual pattern.*

575 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nutacam*
796 evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked
781 singers, of *Sāwalhyumaklts Älquntäm*, and of the four super-natural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Anūlikwutsaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most
[252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in
[578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut*
[685] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

575
796
sary announcement made to the *kukusiut* on the night of some potlatch in the following manner:

As the *kukusiut* are eating, one of the marshals rises, saying: "I hear a supernatural one close at hand; some powerful being is drawing near."

The other marshals agree that they too hear its approach and the *kukusiut*, always eager for dances, impatiently await further information. After further suspense, one of the marshals announces that it is coming for X. No mention is made of which dance is to be performed, and the intimation is wrapped in that veil of secrecy so essential to the *kusiut* society that they practise it even among themselves until it becomes habitual. During the night four young *kukusiut* are sent out to the mountains near the village carrying small whistles. The uninitiated, hearing their weird sound, realize that a supernatural being is in the vicinity. This whistling is repeated twice during the night. [776]

575 # 796 787
Sometimes the actual call comes to X on the following afternoon, but more often after the *sulacam* in the evening. When the display, whatever it may be, has taken place, whistling is heard from the mountain slopes. The uninitiated are at once expelled, ignorant, of course, of the fact that the noise is made by *kukusiut* dispatched for the purpose. As they hurry out they are told that the noise is the droning cry of a supernatural being, equivalent to the droning done by *kusiut* women whenever they are present at a manifestation of the supernatural. X, who appears to be listening, calls out: [776]

"Please say what you want, I will do it."

Then he utters a low hoot-like whistle and sits down, while the women drone. When several minutes have elapsed, X moves, sunwise, to another part of the house and repeats his answer to the whistling which is still continuing. This is done a second and third time, but on the fourth, the call is supposed to have entered X, who cowers as if something had struck him, while the women drone more loudly than before. Then sticks are beaten madly *four* times and a herald goes to every house

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village farthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out: 575* 796* 787

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, antwise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Then it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments. [781]

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *kusiotem* takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song composed by one of their members for X, the audience listens attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'aiya'in*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiotem* dances up and down the coast. 575* 796* 593

The second day, *nusiatdlsap*, a second song is composed and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[illegible] and the songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a 575* 796* 592 [593]

[illegible] Some is kept for a later distribution.

* 575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kusiut*, known
* 796 as dnupus, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
not, and include not only beings having human form, but
[779] snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his
being, an dnupus receives strength which can be transmitted
to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
[775] the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers
death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, rein-
[787] forced by those passed into him by other members of the
society through the transference of their puppets. The most
potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many
of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat crudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

* 575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
* 796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is
not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the *fur* removed by immersion
in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

575

796
787

"I will get my puppet-patron."

A whistle sounds, the *kukusiut* women drum and the uninitiated see one of the puppet figurines move across the back of the house, though they do not see the concealed rope by which this is managed. The figure disappears as if it had entered its owner who goes to X and makes the motion of passing something into him. The other dancers do likewise. Sometimes the dramatic effect is increased by sending a *kusiut* to the roof to strike one of the boards as if the puppet had landed from above with a thump; or the owner may come in from the back-room, walking backwards and drawing his puppet after him by means of a string matching the floor in colour and fastened to his foot. Another device is to have the puppets suspended from the roof by means of similar cords, invisible in the darkness. The owner of one of these takes it in his arms and revolves sunwise on himself as he moves to X, and at the same time conceals the figurine beneath his blanket. The last puppet is always the giant toad, the most potent of all.

575

796

When X has thus been strengthened for the perils which he is to undergo, a number of the uninitiated are invited to come forward to see him. As they step forth, one of the senior *kukusiut* kneads with his fingers against the back of the neck of each to strengthen his spirit so that it will not be drawn from him with fatal results. The uninitiated come forward, see X, without realizing that they are really gazing on two individuals, and shoulder up a knife which is lying near. This was always of copper or obsidian in the old days.

[412]

The actual cutter is one of the uninitiated, though efforts are made to have as operator a son or other near relative of a prominent *kusiut* so that he may easily be initiated into the society if anything should go amiss. One informant, who was called upon to act when about fifteen years of age, vividly recalled the experience in the following manner:

He was sitting with ten or twelve lads of his own age, each of whom was asked by a marshal:

After a short interval, this is answered by the singers in the house, massed in one corner of the house as follows: 575* 796*

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Let them come to search	the voice of *Snitsmān·a*	to revive
[illegible]		
the one who has an injured breast		

539
539

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, 575* then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the 796* region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of 787 others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its brother, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the [533] women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the 575* long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is 796* heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is [776] nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmān·a*. In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the [184] entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden [532] figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

* 575 * 796 [593] made to leap towards X and bend four times over him. The wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth, middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

* 575 * 796 593 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Snitsmān·a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the intervention of *Snitsmān·a*. The singers pretend to be listening intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it, while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukusiut* women has given place to joy, and those who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the music. * 575 * 796 ● 787 One after the other the *áwayar* who had cast their patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped hands, at the same time crying out *haip, haip*.

Each *áwayar* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had come. * 575 * 796 The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow, without receiving a meal.[15] Those who have taken a leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals to discuss the events and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 575* 746*

---

[15] According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formerly detained and initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*.

The *[illegible]* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *[illegible]*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *[illegible]* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *hoip*. On the return of the wood collectors, [482] who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *[illegible]*, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be described, [424] the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in [556] the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *[illegible]*, he orders many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Älquntäm*, his messenger *Opalkts Älquntäm*, and, especially *[illegible]*, the super- [776] natural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer [787] the same mutilation from the effects of which *[illegible]* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

[The Fungus Dance]

* 575 at [illegible], near that village, where it has remained ever since.
* 796 It will be convenient to term [illegible] X.

If X wishes to perform, he informs the [illegible] of his desire and a suitable time is arranged. On the night of [illegible] for some other *kusiut*, the call comes to X who indicates that it has taken possession of him by uttering a low vocal whistle and peering around as if dazed. *Kusiut* accomplices sound whistles from without the house, the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the women drum spontaneously. After a few minutes, X walks to the side of the fire nearest the door and [787] again gives his low whistle, still looking around in a puzzled manner. This is repeated a third time at the side of the fire, and a fourth, behind it. Thus the call comes upon him. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. The *kusiut* begin to assemble in X's house, and assist him by the four times repeated [illegible] beating of sticks. Next the singers beat out the words of a song already composed for the occasion; the theme for all songs used by Fungus dancers is the land above. The ritual on this night of *[illegible]* is identical with that already described in the earlier *kusiut* dances.

* 575
* 796
592

On the day following, *[illegible]*, there is not the customary collecting of wood from the forest. X merely remains quietly within the back-room, visited only by senior *kusiut* officials and a skilful carpenter. The latter brings a *fungus* which he has found in the woods; it must be a good specimen of the common semi-circular *shelf* variety with a clear white surface unspoiled by decay. On this he paints a *face*, showing eye-brows, eyes, nose, and mouth, and fastens beneath a miniature body made of dyed cedar-bark with grotesque waving legs, terminating in eagle claws (see Plate 10).[1] The total length of the figure is about nine inches. The *fungus*, with pendant attachment, is fastened near the end of a stout rope of plaited cedar-bark about eight feet in length, so that when this end of the rope is held uppermost, the head of the *fungus* hangs in a normal upright position. The carpenter starts his work on

[1] [See category 116, p. 164 (D)- ANALYST]

who comes forward to drawing forth the fungus and the spectators comment: 575* 796*

"She must be a good girl for the supernatural beings to show their approval."

At intervals X lifts up the fungus, and his strength is shown especially when the cord has been pulled so far down that he can grip only the very end with one finger. The four *kukusiut* hidden below sometimes become weary of their work and tie a billet crosswise to the rope so that no one can lift it, but of course this must be removed when X demonstrates his prowess again. Towards dawn the concealed helpers cut the rope and X lifts the fungus, holding it in front of his body while the *kukusiut* women dance. With four assistants pressing closely around him, X turns and makes the motion of throwing the fungus up into the air with a cry of *hoip*. It vanishes, and the uninitiated do not realize that it has been palmed to one of the accomplices for concealment beneath his blanket. Then one of the marshals explains to non-members that in the land above the supernatural beings once endeavoured to lift up a fungus, but that X alone, referring to that part of him which visits the dances in the land above, could do so. Accordingly it was sent down for mortals to try, and now that they too have failed it has been sent back. He enlarges on the fact that X, [787] through lying quiet for four days communing with the supernatural beings, has really become one, as is indeed the case with all *kukusiut* who ascend to the land above or experience other peculiar incidents in the course of their performances. This concludes the ceremony; the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow.

Instead of a *waharam* of the type just described, X has the prerogative of performing in an entirely different manner of which only the outlines could be obtained. The *fungus* is tied to a long rope and thrown into the rapids. One end of the cord is held by a *kusiut* on the bank with the result that the fungus whirls to and fro erratically. The *kukusiut* assemble on the bank and hurl harpoons at it while non-members watch 575* 796* 424

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Mystery Dance]

575 petition, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the
746 following evening.

X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow [84] cedar, about five feet in length; in Kimsquit it is decorated with four bands of swan feathers, in Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

[77] The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, resembling a hoot, goes towards the fire and slowly revolves on himself. The *kukusiut* women present begin to drum and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hoot three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied beating, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *kukusiut*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *kukusiut* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realises that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localised. Sometimes the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying [424] the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *kukusiut* alone

[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *kukusiut* in the same 575*
village are protégés of Thunder, each makes a circuit inde- 796*
pendently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of
one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble
for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if
several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling
of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their
customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the [533]
singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which
the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X
were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This
song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune
and words. If there are several *kukusiut* with Thunder as [533]
patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same
manner.

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *kusiut* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance
the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow. Since [787]
no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though
not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on *nebusam* after the burning of the masks.

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, ex- 575*
cept to give the following origin myth: 796*

> Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer 539
> after its first settlement, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain
> goats on Mount *Tcaqelcks'*, near the Kimsquit River.[illegible] It was September; 821

[illegible] This mountain is also known as Hump-back Salmon Mountain; its shape [103]
resembles the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of
time, a salmon became petrified there.

tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, 575
apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which 796
Saiks was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* 539
dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of 424
his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to [777
use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the 551]
prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

THE GHOST DANCE[illegible]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. 575
The term, *ataxalots*, applied to a shaman whose power is de- 796
rived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, [775]
but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly
common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every [750]
village, their right depending in every case on some experience [424]
of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of
the manner in which *Septas* of *Tcumatl* performed his ritual;
it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be
referred to as X.

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *qatlim* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nulusam* rites of the following evening have been 575
completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own 796
houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near 787
at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that [775]
accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with
the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts.
A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

---

[illegible] No relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas. [171]

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 announcing that the dead have come with a call for X. Mean-
*996 while a number of *kukusiut* assemble in the dancer's house
•787 where he strips off his clothing and covers himself with dirt
and ashes. In all other *kusiut* dances the performer endea-
[302] vours to beautify himself, or at least to blacken or paint his
face according to some definite pattern, but X's aim is to
imitate the appearance of the dead who are notoriously untidy.

After some delay, X rushes forth in the midst of his escort and enters the lowest house of the village. The frightened uninitiated are hiding in their bedrooms, but they peer through cracks and watch X as he bends to the floor, picks up handfuls of dirt and throws them wildly in all directions, heedless of what damage he may do. It is obvious that he is frenzied and mad, like Cannibals who have received their calls. His *kukusiut* associates pretend to restrain him, but he always outwits their efforts and continues to hurl dirt. At last he withdraws, moves to the next house and there repeats the performance. This is done in every dwelling in the village. Most of the uninitiated in X's own house leave it as soon as the *kukusiut* began to assemble, and by this time all others have fled, so that when the party returns there are only members of the society present. The frightened non-members hear the frenzied beating of sticks as efforts are made to cure X of his madness, but without avail. Soon a sound of wailing is heard, and the heralds come around announcing that X has vanished—the dead have taken him. The *kukusiut* spend the rest of the night in his house, silently listening to speeches from the marshals, and disperse about dawn.

X's sojourn in the land of the dead is of varying length. Occasionally he returns on the night of his disappearance, having been absent only a few hours, or he may remain in hiding for several weeks. The usual time for his reappearance is the night after his departure, and with him always come a number of ghosts. The ritual on his return is always the same, irrespective of the duration of his absence.

At dusk the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house where

[The Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent 575*
to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the 796*
door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man
who left the village. His face and body have been stained [787]
green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the [302]
dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg
of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him
the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukusiut*
who have been painted black and green to give them an unearthly [302]
appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following
his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the uncanny, though the
body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually
white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts
accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking backwards,
another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his [775]
hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to
mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something
like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, constantly
pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the
central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face,
clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is [776]
Alqwalus, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She
begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees
and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks
them out at will and returns them to the places whence they
had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a
stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers.
Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead,
causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with
his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they
prepare to leave. Ghosts are feckless, however; consequently, [775]
instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction,
some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X
and his visitors, with a large number of *kukusiut*, go to every
house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence,
except for the trill of the dead men. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

qotlum. When the dance has ended, X gives presents; first to 575*
each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, 796*
starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening [431]
and the *kukusiut* disperse.

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not
only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just
described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a
nabusam in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising
that the next night is *qotlum*. The singers are the first to
assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same [533]
theme but different words and tune to that already prepared.
Meanwhile the *kukusiut* are gathering and when they have
learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No en-
closure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body [302]
has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed in
water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind [292]
of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead.
His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the
manner just described. This is followed by the customary
qotlum ritual, *kusiut* after *kusiut* dancing as the singers beat out
his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in
one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee hurriedly. The
kukusiut eat together, listening to the admonitions and remarks
of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the 575*
peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may 796*
be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, accord- 787
ing to the wishes of the marshals. If they desire a further
display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished
dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A
number of *kukusiut* follow him and appear to be trying to
prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor
and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As
a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approxi-
mately the same amount in each house, as none of them is
willing to have more damage done in his own house than in
others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 X's, where he is soothed by the *four* times repeated frenzied
*796 beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.
[787] During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad
at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house
and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always
with him, and the procedure is identical with that already
[424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted,
so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an
unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him
from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members
*796 of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature,
776 and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of
[522] the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximdt*,
[831] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed
Aliqmān i and *Nauxkmālsaix*. She is thought to disregard the
efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes
to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human
beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young
[557] man, *Ēālaiuks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwalākmus*;
[562] like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or
women. It is said that *Ēālaiuks*'s prerogative is derived from
[424] the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of
Kwalākmus was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer
[533] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing
not only of *Sximsximdt*, but also of the being known as *Win-*
[532] *winmak*. Many masks are required at the *nūusam* of either
of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect
to *Sximsximdt* one year, and to *Winwintmak* at the next or a
subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always
refer to both patrons.

*796 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains
*575 their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

[The Octopus Dance]

*575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsuxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiutälsap* and *qathm*.

On the evening of *nebusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus.
[532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance
[431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out.
[556] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be conven-
424 ient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Stcqwastlustkwi*,
[776] Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick evergreens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some
[778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his
[776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and
● [787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[100] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
*575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
*796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

---

[100] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

[The Dance of the Dark-shade]

575* 796*

preferably skilled carpenters. Heralds visit every house in the village informing all that X has gone to meet, or to wait for, Dark-Shade.

Meanwhile X and his companions are utilizing the last hours of daylight in collecting a large quantity of gum. They build a fire, and by its flickering light the dancer is coated with gum so carefully that even his teeth and nails are invisible; in this disguise he represents Dark-Shade. Early the following morning the singers and those *kukusiut* who have already danced during the current season set off on lashed canoes to meet X and his party whom they take on board. Waiting till the tide is favourable, the canoes are slowly poled up the river. As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some well-known tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform between the canoes begins to dance, each using the style proper to his prerogative. It is an animated scene. The uninitiated watch the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange dark figure; it is all so uncanny that they need little urging from the *kukusiut* to withdraw to their houses, where they peer curiously through chinks in the walls. Members of the society line the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, one after another cries out that a call has come to him. The marshals have previously decided who shall dance at this time and informed those selected; sometimes it is a *kusiut* who has already performed once during the season, or it may be a person who has not performed for many years.

[535] [424]

575* 796* 787 ●

All the *kukusiut* accompany Dark-Shade and her escort to X's house from which all uninitiated have long been expelled. The singers compose a new song of which the words are arranged as if Dark-Shade, not X, were speaking. The theme of one, used a number of years ago, is:

575* 796* [533]

"Let X fetch me to visit mortals."

Unfortunately, the details of X's dance were unavailable. Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within X's house, though he attends the ceremonies of other *kukusiut* and his presence there on the nights of *qotlꞁm* and *nebusam* is a

* 575 source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can
* 796 still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought
a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who,
however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither
qotlhm nor *nebusam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after
four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been
carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that
[533] he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there
is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed
unless for a definite purpose.

* 575 The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* ceremonial
* 796 since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously.
In this case the ritual is carried out in unison
● 787 which requires, for example, the composition of one song for
424 each performer on *lsuxtämem*. Calls never come in this way
to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it
is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely
to sing of their patrons. On *nebusam* the patrons of all are
displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a
dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in
evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is
called *twilhmdimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight."
Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to
different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry
of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of
them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

* 575

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

* 796 *Yuyulhmxl*, the man who was petrified with his Ootsa Lake
wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a
[776] Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *Kwasta*. His repository is just
[424] above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about
five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet
[551] north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost imme-
[778] diately opposite *Yuyulhmxl*'s station. The repository is beneath
the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

424 *575 *796 539 mortal watched until the unfortunate *Nunulcuggnam* had almost vanished from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Ănoˀlikwolsaix*.

"If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."

The woman did so, and *Ănoˀlikwolsaix* continued:

"I am *Ănoˀlikwolsaix*. You have found me, hence I give you a *kusiut* dance prerogative. You will have *Nunulcuggnam* as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kusiut* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of *Nunulcuggnam* into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *Xmaxots*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nusqalst*, a woman whose name was *Spuxpuxhailaix*. *Ălquntäm* had given her a *kusiut* prerogative with a peculiar [778] repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *Sgelgädjutän-a*, *Sxa·liulsmän-a*, *Siulan·i*, and *Samsiutän·i*. When she [532] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing Woodpecker, and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *Spuxpuxhailaix*.

Kusiut PREROGATIVES OTHER THAN DANCES

424 *575 *796 The most valuable possession of a *kusiut* is the dance which he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has, in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *skusiut* or *yeaxmax*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." ● [787] With every call, this possession of the dancer's comes automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kusiut* who has one of the sons of *Ălquntäm* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kusiotem* rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; 424
they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement 575*
and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the 796*
prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to
make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the 183
ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, [592]
it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its
employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of
the *kusiut* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter
which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance
with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony
to be accompanied by every possible show. It is impossible
to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of
employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type
under consideration are used in about one-third of the *kusiut*
ceremonials.

If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he 424
consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks 575*
him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the 796*
night of *tsuxtämem*, when all the *kukusiut* are present, the bird
is seen to move across the back-wall of the house, pulled by 787
concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to [592]
catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women
drone and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring
houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his
hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the
dancer moves to the centre of the house and returns the bird
to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the
kukusiut call out *hoip*. This is the usual procedure when the
prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same
ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *nusiutälsap*, particularly
if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to
occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial,
the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer
stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from
above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

424 575 796 787 thing" into one of his companions. The recipient acts as if blinded, staggering around the house and colliding with articles of furniture or his fellows. One after another receives the same present, until perhaps half the company are acting as if moving in a dense mist. Sometimes they reel from the house, falling into bushes and walking into the walls of other houses, as if deprived not only of sight but also of all sense of direction. The prerogative of Fog was given to *Ninitsamlaix* (II, p. 244), but many other *kukusiut* enjoy the same right from other sources. After a short interval, the dancer goes to the victim and makes the motion of drawing something from him, thus restoring his sight and sanity. Fog is then returned aloft in the manner described for a Hummingbird.

When first told of this custom, difficulty was experienced in visualizing the attitude of the *kukusiut* to what they realize is a mere dramatization, lacking the presence of the uninitiated to give it zest and purpose. When several performances of this type had been witnessed, the difficulty vanished. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the affair, regarding it as a game, and yet as a game in which they must acquit themselves creditably. Each recipient endeavours to [522] excel his fellows in the realism of his performance, and his blind staggers never fail to cause merriment. The Bella Coola delight in acting, and this is an occasion on which they can indulge their tastes to the utmost, without fear of disaster if an error should occur, such as hampers them in the presence of the uninitiated. Moreover, each strives to assist the performer, and these two reasons combine to make the whole a success.

Although these prerogatives are often used on the nights of *lsuxtämem* and *nusiutälsap*, the time most suitable for their appearance is during the ritual of *sawadjut*, which may be translated as, "The Restful Ceremony." The Bella Coola say that the word is derived from *sawa*, a pillow, and that the meaning of *sawadjut* is a ceremony of "Pillowness," that is, resting, combined with pleasant relaxation. In spite of the number

of prerogatives, it sometimes happens that a week or more 424
elapses without a *kusiut* wishing to perform. In such a case 575*
the marshals instruct the heralds to summon the *kukusiut* for 796*
the Restful Ceremony to a house from which the uninitiated 787
have been expelled. When all have assembled, the singers
beat out the song of any *kusiut* and the audience joins in, although the owner does not dance. Song after song is repeated, the singers choosing particularly those which they fear may be forgotten. The uninitiated, who hear the singing from the adjacent houses, wonder what it may signify. The marshals arrange with a *kusiut* willing to receive his prerogative, and soon after midnight this person puts on a ceremonial collar, even though no call has come to him, and is ready to play his part. Sticks are distributed and one of the singers leads the audience in frenzied beating. This suffices to bring the intangible prerogative to the willing *kusiut*, who makes the motions of catching something in his upstretched hands while the women drone. Amid the continued pounding of sticks, the dancer circles the house and presently throws what he has received to one of his fellows. The actions of the recipient of Fog have already been described, but there are intangible prerogatives of other kinds. One of these is Rabbit; the owner hops in imitation of the animal to any *kusiut*, presses his cupped hands against the other's chest, and the latter likewise begins to hop. He in turn passes it to a third, he to a fourth, until finally the owner withdraws his prerogative and returns it above. The *kukusiut* become so interested that they often forget to continue the beating of sticks, a matter of no importance since no uninitiated are present. No one offered the prerogative from the owner ever declines; to do so would expose him to ridicule and a refusal is unthinkable according to an elderly Bella Coola. Another prerogative of the same type is an Adze, in which case the possessor pretends to be using that tool. When finally withdrawn by the rightful owner, he often makes the motion of throwing it on a rafter instead of sending it back above; in this case it can be used

424 again later in the season without being brought from above.
*575 A Bat prerogative impels the owner, and likewise the temporary possessor, to move lightly to and fro like a bat; it can
*796 be thrown from one side of the house to the other, and is
787 "caught" with arms stretched far above the head. Sleep, like Fog, can be projected into a number of individuals simultaneously, and causes all to slumber; while Anger causes everyone to fight with his neighbour. Still another prerogative of the same class is Ants. Some dancers have Bull-roarers, as is also true for some *sisaok* dancers. Details of their use were unobtainable.

Although these prerogatives always amuse and please the *kukusiut*, they also have two serious aspects. The insertion of one strengthens a *kusiut*, and in the case of a Cannibal, Scratcher, or Breaker causes him to become frenzied. Whenever this happens he rushes forth to all the houses, frightening the uninitiated, always attended by a band of *kukusiut*. Moreover, the injection of a prerogative so stimulates a *kusiut* that he is more liable to receive a call. As many as fifty *kukusiut* may have prerogatives of this type thrust into them during a single "Restful Ceremony." Of course not all of them receive calls, but one or more of them is likely to do so. The writer endeavoured to investigate the attitude of the Bella Coola on this point. Only *kukusiut* are concerned, since they alone can have this power inserted into them. They realize the deceptions practised by the society, and no individual interviewed claimed to have been so strengthened that he received a call, yet all stated that this had been the case with others. There is no doubt that the projection of a prerogative directs the recipient's attention to *kusiut* matters, and may often lead him to the point of giving his dance. In any event, the "Restful Ceremony" gives the marshals an opportunity to stimulate the interest of the members of the society, and to impress on them the desirability of dancing. The uses of "patron-puppets" have already been described.

In addition to these prerogatives, which normally remain

in the land above and come to their owners only on special 424
occasions, there are four of similar type considered to remain 575*
constantly within the possessor's body from the time of his 796*
admission, with respect to the name with which the right is 787
associated. One of these, the use of crystals for initiation
purposes, has already been described. The others are *nixobāxta*, *lsubilta*, and *sio°msta*, all untranslatable terms.

One use to which the first of these prerogatives is put is to encourage the *kukusiut* to hasten to the house in which a ceremony is taking place. Delay is part and parcel of all dances, but particularly on *lsuxtāmem* and *nusiutālsap* the *kukusiut* are often very slow in arriving. In such a case the dancer himself, one of his friends, or a marshal, may ask the owner of a *nixobāxta* prerogative to perform. It will be convenient to refer to this *kusiut*, who may be man or woman, as X.

The uninitiated have been told that X carries in his right knee a rock crystal which he can thrust into anyone through the anus. The *kukusiut* do not share the belief, but they have acted for so long as if they did, that it is probable that they almost place credence in it themselves. When X performs, he leaves the dancer's home and goes in a crouching attitude, yelling fiercely, to the lowest house of the village. As he enters, the uninitiated flee to the bed-rooms, but peer curiously and fearfully through the cracks. X rushes to and fro, still crouching, while the *kukusiut* appear to be trying to avoid him, but at last he seizes either a man or a woman. In spite of his victim's well-simulated struggles, X makes the motion of thrusting something into him, whereupon the person cries out as if in pain and pretends to be nauseated. Away rushes X, enters the next dwelling, and does the same. This is repeated in every house in the village. As they go to the house in which the ceremony is taking place, the victims pretend to be suffering from a stomach-ache, caused by the foreign substance within them, and this pretence is maintained after their arrival. After some delay, X takes a stick and beats furiously four or five times with it, while the singers accompany

424 him with sticks and drums. Following another pause, he does
*575 this once more, causing the return to him of the crystals. The
heralds visit the different houses to report what has taken
*796 place and the regular ritual of the evening continues in due
•787 course.

Occasionally the *nixobāxta* ritual is elaborated to impress the uninitiated. Within this century a woman received a crystal in this manner and, so non-members were told, it became stuck so that the owner could not recall it. In this case two *kukusiut* were in grief; the woman who had lost her crystal, and the one who had it within her body. The former went from house to house for several days, weeping and asking that the *kukusiut* insert their prerogatives into the possessor's body to drive out the crystal, while the sufferer maintained a crouched attitude as if in intense agony. Her home was in *Q̣omqo·ts*, but she went even to *Snxl* to see whether the *kukusiut* there could not help her. Meanwhile the uninitiated were both amazed and impressed. After several days the marshals of the two villages decided to try in unison to force out the crystal. It was day-time, and they gathered around the stricken woman in an open spot between the two villages, while the uninitiated peered with interest from the background. One *kusiut* after another called his intangible prerogative to himself and passed it into the sufferer, and after each insertion the owner of the crystal tried to withdraw it, but without avail. After each failure, the one who had used his possession recalled it to himself by pressing with cupped hands and calls of *hoip*, then sent it back above. Throughout the ceremony, a man with a loud voice kept informing non-members which prerogative was being tried. At the insertion of Ants, and again of Anger, the sufferer reeled, but the owner of the crystal could not bring it forth. It had been decided that a Bird-Arrow was to be the successful prerogative, and when this was inserted by its owner, the woman staggered, fell, and rolled wildly on the ground, her arms and legs flying apart in all

directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her 424
crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 575 *

Another prerogative of the same nature is *lsubilta*. As the 796 *
kukusiut are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the
evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display 787
it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips.

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*. [522]
The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability [776]
is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied.

Sio°msta, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the 424
action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is 575 *
limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can 796 *
be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main
ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a 787
rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched 831
at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass 522
behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *hoip* and shaking his hips. Pre-

424 sently he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
*796 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
787 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
831 hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
522 time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-
[776] mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural
beings above perform *sioᵒmsta.*

The Death of a *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
of the society. In dances which are completed in four days,
787 there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and 575*
the relative completes the ceremony, doing only that part of 796*
it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle 766
is the same as that described when a novice dies, that
someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kusiut* ceremonial 787
is still preserved tenaciously as the writer found to his [123]
cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call.

The Final Rite

The commencement of the *kusiut* season is regulated by 575*
the coming of *Noäkxnm*, but its conclusion is a matter of 796*
arrangement. By February the number of *kukusiut* wishing
to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to 591
terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered 784
that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kusiut* dance has taken place, and that as long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in those houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

A few nights after the last *nebusam*, the heralds summon 575*
the *kukusiut* to the house in which it took place. They sit 796*
down but the usual droning is omitted. Presently sticks are
distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the 787
customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, 784
one of the marshals, or another *kusiut* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of

784
*575 sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four
*796 times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger
men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire.
[787] By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

There may be certain prerogatives connected with this
[424] finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

*575
CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND HISTORY

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance
*796 of the sociological aspects of the society. During the cere-
182 monial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families
571 are divided, parents and children being separated in many

*533 C *Ipleistmaxdamilnka* | *yao ditlsamtamcda* | *kamalfatalaicktidax* | *Raleyandasdax*
There was a big cloak for his(*f*) forefather; two men held him in it(*g*).

Yao saxsaxfalaixsudax
Hail, *Saxsaxfalaix*(*h*)!

(*a*) This song was composed and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) Referring to the call. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of these two subdivisions.
(*c*) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings in the land above.
(*d*) The dancer's cannibalistic incubus was the eagle. The slightly vague expressions are necessary to deceive the uninitiated.
(*e*) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.
(*f*) Referring to the dancer.
(*g*) The meaning of this is obscure. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each subdivision.
(*h*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Kal·iaiyuhmy, a Bella Coola Cannibal Dancer(*a*)

A *Sawasqolkmailaixmdinkt* | *a'likhlhalimamlalc* | *dasnamuxkainudim*
No one spoke | at the meeting(*b*) | when he counted

anatanlpsumaltimali
how many should be eaten(*c*).
[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sawasmmmmmalpsilao* | *maanutsiyadjalaic* | *alhasnalwinadjilali*
Alternately, two men | kept giving him food(*d*) | in his house(*e*);

yao dahahw·idjadax
there is incessant growling(*f*).
[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasnatsaalamliumdai* | *aiattqpmaiik'lidax* | *Yao di'iiiqpamlilodasdax*
The wood shivered(*g*) | as he walked(*h*). | Hail to the shaking off(*i*)!

Yao saxsaxfalaixsudax
Hail to *Saxsaxfalaix*(*j*)!

[787]

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) The uninitiated assume this to be a reference to the meeting in the land above at which it was decided to send down a call to the dancer.
(*c*) That is: He, the dancer's patron, decided how many human beings should be eaten. The reference is slightly peculiar since *Kal·iaiyuhmy* has the prerogative of biting himself.
(*d*) The uninitiated assume that this refers to human flesh.
(*e*) Referring to his repository. The exact meaning is intentionally obscure.
(*f*) A reference to the growling of the Cannibal by which the uninitiated are frightened.

(c) The theme is worded as if the dancer were listening to the supernatural beings discussing the call which they proposed to send down. The uninitiated are led to believe that she actually has this ability. 593* [787]

(d) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(e) The implication is that the power of the dancer is so great, and the rite so dangerous, that even the supernatural beings themselves are afraid.

(f) The discussion is so animated and on such an important subject that the faces of the participants take on strained expressions.

(g) When a Bella Coola meeting is being held, those who hold similar views usually group themselves together. [623]

(h) A man of forceful character has expressed himself and the others concur.

—

Second Song Used for [illegible], a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
It is true what my mother | recounted to me(b); | has opened to me

[illegible]
[illegible](c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B [illegible] | [illegible]
He(d) told me to raise my head to see what he was holding(e),

[illegible] | [illegible]
the model(f) | of the gathering above(g).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Bent their heads together(h) | all the chiefs(i); | those of lesser prestige

[illegible]
fled away in fear, unable to participate(j).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Peter Nelson, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(b) This was the second song used when [illegible] danced, and the theme follows, to a certain extent, the first one. The uninitiated are led to believe that the dancer was able to see what her mother had described to her in previous years.

(c) That is: [illegible] has opened to me.

(d) Referring to a supernatural being, probably the dancer's patron.

(e) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions. The implication is that the dancer was sitting with head bowed on her chest when the supernatural one bade her look upward to see what he was holding out to her in his hand. [787]

(f) *Model* is a poor translation. The reference is to the rite above on which the dancer patterned her performance.

(g) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings.

(h) As if in secret and animated discussion.

727 overland to Kimsquit, and from there to Bella Coola. The crew of another craft lost their way among the islands and fiords and wandered around for days until their food was exhausted. They were then near China Hat where they could have landed in safety but, thinking that they were still in hostile territory, they feared to camp and hunt. At last, spurred by hunger, they determined to catch some eagles, the only living creatures in sight. A rude shelter was built on the shore, a bark tray placed before it, and one of the party gashed the fleshy part of his back until the blood ran sufficiently freely to fill the vessel and serve as bait. A companion hid himself and clubbed the eagles as they swooped down to the fresh blood. Though the food was coarse and had to be eaten raw, it enabled the refugees to continue their journey home.

727 Another canoe was surprised at the entrance to Douglas Channel by 648 a party of Kitimat who slew all the crew except a certain *Yā·kʷarwarwa* who succeeded in escaping into the woods. Thinking that the survivor would be driven down to the beach by hunger, the Kitimat patrolled the shore for days, but he eluded them by travelling overland, though his only food was uncooked plants and a single goat, killed by a stone. *Yā·kʷarwarwa* was a Kimsquit man whose wife was from Kitlobe; her relatives, hearing of his plight, watched the shore of Gardners Canal, hoping that he might be able to reach that refuge. He managed to do so, though at the last gasp, and was taken to Kitlobe whence he returned to Kimsquit. This was the first time that anyone had travelled overland from Douglas Channel to Gardner Canal.

Still another canoe actually landed at Kitimat where the crew was butchered except for five men who fled to the forest. One of them, *Xnutli*, uncle of a man about seventy years old in 1923, had made several trading expeditions into the interior and was familiar with part of the route. He acted as guide, but soon lost his way and the five wandered for months through the trackless interior, often in dire straits for food, and becoming more and more weary. Their journey began in May, and 727 by October they were all enfeebled through hardship and lack of food. ● 787 *Xnutli* himself was the first to give up the struggle, saying that he could go no further. He asked his comrades to make him as comfortable as possible, and then to leave him; regretfully they laid him on some evergreen boughs, and tottered off, expecting their own death within a few days. Soon after their departure, there was a violent thunderstorm and, at the moment of a tremendous clap, Thunder, himself, appeared to the dying wanderer. The supernatural one went to a near-by rivulet and dipped up water which he brought *Xnutli* to drink; when he had done this four times, the man felt as if he had had a hearty meal. Thunder then told *Xnutli* to close his eyes. He did so; then the supernatural one spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his *friends* and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nukätco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal. 727 787

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenemonal rapidity. 727

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *ululkwaladjut* on this occasion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his *friends* and they took 754 [776] [689]

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B
754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[776] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xnutli's* aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his protégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the
B
[789] danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
B
[789] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnutli*.[8]

B
T
648 This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the Kimsquit and *Tāl·io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
[721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed *Q̣alxwelìotl*, a brother of *Potlus*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[726] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
[622] of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Potlus*, *Nukāpankam* of Fort Rupert, or *Tcibasa* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

B
T
648
728 A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investigated, and returned to *Q̣omqo·ts* with news that the occupants were Kitkatla, and that *Tcibasa* himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party;
B
T
[726] others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

B
[787] [8] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnutli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

Coola the important men of *Sɪnxl*, *Tcɪmotl*, and *Ălqălăxl* met at *Q̣omqo·ts* 721
and discussed the matter stormily. *Potles* was the leading Bella Coola chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Bɪlxwalaks* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Potles*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his [714]
face smeared with ashes and his hair tied in a top-knot with a weasel-skin. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Potles* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and intimated that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating: he was *numitl*, so no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the refuse holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Potles* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Potles* wasted no words:

"*Bɪlxwalaks* has been murdered," he said. "She was a chief and my relative.[12] I am going to war. We shall use her own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bella Coola prepared for the 726
expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Potles*, volunteers came swarming in, not only from Bella Coola itself, but from Kimsquit and *Tăl·io* as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *Siwid*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Bella Coola for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night 726
at Kwatna. Next morning, *Kwalsănl*, one of the leading warriors, tied
his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ashes. He was a man 787
whose bravery had been firmly established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the beach within easy musket range and called out:

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, so will we lay low our foes."

---

[12] It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Potles* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

B
726
787

For some time no one was willing to take the risk of hitting a comrade, but *Kwalsāni* continued his request until a good shot took careful aim and fired. The bullet cut the knot and the warrior's scanty locks fell streaming over his face; he was partially bald so that his top-knot was thin and collapsed easily. Everyone was pleased at this incident as foretelling victory. Those whose courage had been established either by magical means or by the distribution of wealth, often deliberately took public risks of this kind to show their bravery.

B
K
648
726

Then the expedition continued, travelling only by night after leaving friendly waters. It was decided to attack the people of Kingcome Inlet, though it is unknown whether that objective had been decided upon before leaving Bella Coola or *en route*. When close to their goal, a scouting canoe was sent forward, guided by the slave. He led the party into one cove, then into another, without seeming to arrive anywhere; the scouts feared that he was deceiving them, so they landed, and while two or three lay in hiding, the others took *Siwid* back to the main party. One Bella Coola had a slight knowledge of the route, so he was sent forward to join the hidden scouts; their canoe was cautiously paddled forward in the darkness till the crew was able to land unobserved about a quarter of a mile from the objective. Kingcome Inlet is famous for its olachen, which attract fishermen from all parts of the coast; on the day previous a canoe from the north had arrived for the spring run and reported the departure of the Bella Coola expedition. From the time which had elapsed, the Kingcome Inlet people knew that this must now be in the vicinity. Two canoes filled with men were sent out from the threatened village; they scoured the neighbouring coasts, but although one of the crews almost stumbled over the hidden scouts, they found no trace of them, and returned, reporting that no enemy was near. Having avoided those who were looking for them, the Bella Coola scouts returned to the main party and preparations were made to attack at dawn.

The warriors gained positions in ambush behind the village without being discovered, and just before daybreak the assault was launched. The *Djoldāmux*, taken unaware, could offer no real resistance; many of them were killed or captured although *Siwid*, the chief, himself escaped. The Bella Coola suffered only one casualty, the captain of one of the canoes. During the journey, the bow-man of his craft had misjudged the amounts of food and cedar-bark required, so that his leader, in the stern, had received neither and was in no fit condition for fighting. Some of his friends advised him to remain with the canoes and promised to bring him prisoners to guard; the captain refused this offer, rushed into the fight and was slain. It was generally felt that lack of war decorations was responsible.

192*

Asklia: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
äskma: Position between two fires.
äs·lätl: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [823]
äs·maius: To teach.
ąs·maiusämkilʼ: Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Äsqämks: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
äsqwxma: *Susaak* song in slow time. [533]
ästakän: 1—Box, *archaic*; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
äsus: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
äsiaxwatl: Carved house post.
Äslsalnexkl: Wife of *Swakx*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
äsutcäxunk: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Aswinwinaiuts: Expedition of the supernatural being *Winwina* against berries and fish.
Äs·yänam: *Smaoan*'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants,
äsymsäxta: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
äsxʷ: Seals.
äsxwaltem: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure. [825]
ältäqwip: Fir.
Altäs·iaiutl: Evil male supernatural being. [755]
ä·lma: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [824]
2—Dead.
älmakʷ: Kingfisher. [825]
älsi: Fish-hook.
Älsham, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above. [227]
älkmos: *Kusiut* spy.
ätsqtutl: *plural, änätsqtutl; vocative plural, änätsqtaatl:*
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Älhk: *utämx* village.
Äyä: *Stuix* man mentioned in an ancient story.
äyx·kendjut, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means *omen*. It is the Kimsquit variant of *ä·xendjut*. [787] ●
ä·xendjut: Omen of death.
Äyat·i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at *Täl·io.*
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Äyat·i nas Wamalsuks, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
ayuxen-i: Varied thrush. [825]

---

[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

192*

usxsiutl, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.

usyuyuyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Álqaláxl* in the beginning of time. [805]
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Susaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

utlutlulák: One of the supernatural carpenters.

usámänumtnum: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]

uxaiák': Synonym for *spuxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]

uxáxsmuxdjut: Hereditary tendency.

uxem: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuux* man. [827]

uriax: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *ilakwik* is problematical.

uulqolam: One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time. [825]

uulliwatem'xiamet·äl·äl': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]

ugun·abälawadjutlaix: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]

uxkukuta: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]

uxlätumkq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.

uxlexwan·i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.

uxlokwaladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.

uxlqotlamsqwaxdjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.

uxnukwmelsaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.

uxnutlxämlaix: Supernatural name of *sisiutl*.

uxquntäm, "Commander":1—Said to be the word from which *Älquntäm* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.

uxlikmosaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.

uxwappätsdjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

uxwal·a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuux* man.

uxwinuxäla: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

ux·wnnaisa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

uxgälyotsaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.

uxgekam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snulali* and *Täl·io*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry.

Kaiusdiäs: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man. [824]

Kakämitl: One of Raven's Crow sisters.

kakäs: Crow. [825]

Kakotlun: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

192*

Łäliaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Łäkaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stuux* story of the beginning of time.

Łälläliämdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snułli* in the beginning of time.

Łäloxmän·a: *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.

läläs·i: Small portable canoe.

lälstam: Desertion of a spouse. [586]

Łäxosmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.

lałmtmakɣwao: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusäxkämɣ*.

Łaknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.

Łilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaoan* for his son in the beginning of time.

lima: To loot.

Łixlixkihka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.

lixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.

łdlta: Bull-roarer.

łlt: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm*, is supposedly derived from this. [556]

łm: Potlatch.

łmkmitl: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.

Łmolim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]

Łmolis di Nusäxkämɣ, "The Potlatch of the *nusäxkämɣ*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]

Łhamkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukiłs* in the beginning of time.

łkluwädjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]

łkumkeksta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.

łmänkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]

łmänsimtim: The turning over of a mountain.

Ło'yɔ: Professional name of a female berry-picker.

łqomkeksta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Q̓wiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]

łqia: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]

'Łismdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.

Łisiqwam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.

luklai: Aversion.

Łukwalo: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tcmotl* man.
2—Shamanistic power.

lullulimut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]

Łulqwan·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.

Łulukwalnutmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Ŧlitcaplitan·a*, and hence a designation given to shamans.

192*

mixmixqulp: Leaf of salalberry.

mla·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787] ●

mılka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.

mına, vocative, mınao: Child. [601]

Mınakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.

mınk': Excreta.

mınmınts, vocative, mınmıntcän·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]

mınskänmaxta: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]

Mıntlato·smım, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]

Mıstelos: Man mentioned in a song.

Mılakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *sısaok* rites.

mıtletsta: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*

mılälosäm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.

mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.

mokwaks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.

moqla: Lice. [825]

moqwila: Adolescent youth.

moxmoxk': Blue grouse.

moxmoxliloikända: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]

mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]

mudcämkeksta: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.

mustamax: Wrestling.

Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.

Nä'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.

nän·: Grizzly bear. [825]

Nänäntlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.

Nänätl: Kusiut name of a *Nusqalst* man.

Nänätskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

Nänalskwitl: One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.

nän·imnt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]

Naos: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

*192

Nunutcix̣x̣nam: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ano°likwolsaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[787] *nunulliuts:* Omen of death.

Nunutsnimikmem, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nunuxemlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Q̣omoqwa*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nunux̣im: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nunuxmeax̣: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Stuux* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nunuyaxtum:* *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qālāxtm* is obscure.

Nu'oxwatlamnaix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nupāxsikel·tm:* Synonym for *pāsutstm:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nupltānlsikān, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuqao·exta:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqāxlām·i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqāx̣māts, "Place of Much *Q̣āx̣māts*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqeiqāmis: *Nusqwal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqiliax̣ailen·a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *nuqmuime·tl wa sonx̣ʷ'als:* One year.

[828] *nuqom:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqpik, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuqsdjut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuqselx̣ʷ':* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *nuqslitsta:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqwaxots: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiotem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *nuqʷantnikim:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwikimlaix: *Susaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqwallax:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqwaliāls: The upper heaven.

nuqwna: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwxulioqlsān·i: A *Stuux* repository.

Nusālquntāmsta, "Where *Ālquntām* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *xusāmx̣we·xax̣:* Cottonwood buds.

Nusāpāniā'sta, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smaaan* in the beginning of time.

nusāllemx̣: Canoe-maker.

Nusālstm: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nusqalst*.

[535] *nusāxkāmx̣:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

[869]

192*

q̣ālikw: Omen of death, generic term. [787]
q̣ālka: One of the berries, probably raspberry.
q̣āmā, vocative, q̣āmao: Mother, term used by child.
Q̣āmālxem: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
Q̣āmeux: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Q̣āmspoxtāmem: am'lɛl·a name of a Kimsquit man.
q̣āmxāmila, vocative, q̣āmxāmilao: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smnuq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
q̣aouxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
q̣ao·ltaks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Q̣aominoaka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Q̣apātus: Kusiut name of a *Stuix* man. [825]
Q̣ā·pxaok: ustāmx̣ chief living soon after the beginning of time.
*Q̣āq̣āt*ᵃ*li:* Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Q̣āḍos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaḍos,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
q̣ālāxm: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxwm.*
q̣ātitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Q̣ālsmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
q̣ātsx̣': Star-fish. [825]
q̣āx: Rabbit.
q̣ā·x̣: Salmon-berry. [824]
Q̣āxlawāls: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
q̣āx̣māts: Unidentified plant.
q̣alm: Black cod. [825]
q̣am, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
q̣amta: Wooden armour.
Q̣ankulst: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Q̣ax·āxwsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Q̣ril: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Sìskiutl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
q̣e·ko: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Q̣rldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
q̣i'aga: One of the *a'alk* dances.
Q̣itlia, "Head": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
q̣usx̣ālyālxoslaixx̣nam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [578] [431]
q̣kalulitsta: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [556]

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 her the secrets of the Kū'siūt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the
same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her
dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with
masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance
the Kū'siūt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and
sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the
Kū'siūt.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kū'siūt. When a man has
575 seen Anaūlikūtsai'ᴇ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
776 Kū'siūt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his
house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the
evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to
the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the
taboo house. Each Kū'siūt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kū'siūt are also the
property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
575 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
614 as is the case with the Sisau'kᴇ dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who
[426] do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the
owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kū'siūt is obtained through
an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kū'siūt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kū'siūt names,
which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other
[428] relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was
about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akō'otl.
I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same
way as the Sisau'kᴇ, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to
perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kū'siūt have to pass through a
religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ᴇlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lᴇq (the Nū'tlmatl of
the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tia (the Nō'ntsistatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These
grades are also hereditary. A Kū'siūt novice may acquire them at
once at his first initiation.

575 When the ᴇlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
785 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-
one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
killed, in order to serve as food for the ᴇlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted
[266] and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The
latter was killed, and the members of the ᴇlaqō'tla order devoured one-
half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There
the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or
thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside
the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K·awa'umsta, that is, 776
"mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasalā'nix spoke: "The 821
sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The
following kŭ'siut song refers to these deities: —

Ai'mats tā mnatsai' tō·xts ti sō'nx·tsg·i t'aix. [539]
Aiē'tx tā mnatsai' ōt ti S'atwalō'sems ti Sōnx' t'aix'.
Sk'a ya'lx·tox ti si'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk'a anō'g'a wą sxemē'x ti K'awa'umstask· ti Sōnx' t'aix· tā mnatsai.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke.
Go to S'atwalō'sem of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nĕkō'ōt, or Qenk·i'lst, that is, "the land below." 772
It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is 776
sitting with legs apart, who is called Atēp!ālaxtnaix·. He holds a long 823
stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik"pstak·imtōts," that is, "he takes hold [731]
of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. [753]
When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears.

In the ocean lives a being called Setsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kŭ'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōtk"tōle'mx·). It 772
is called Asiutā'nem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally 775
obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a
trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as [756]
a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the [787]
entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform

776 [756] There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is ʟaʟaia'iʟ or Sxai'ēxoax (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate: when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand, the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates sexual desire in man [787] and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees ʟaʟaia'iʟ, who tells him who will die and who will fall sick, Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you so soon." While they were speaking to him, the chief's speaker entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly saw ʟaʟaia'iʟ, with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, ʟaʟaia'iʟ was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1] —

776 756 "The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-klati-e'il [ʟaʟaia'iʟ]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated tries to find him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-klati-e'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

---

[113] [1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 104.

woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people 575
should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, 773
they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees 776
me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall 535
punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my
house, you must not dance the kū'siut."

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man 575
has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the 776
people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung
up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only 535
in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing
close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire
from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also 535
property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to 575
members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's hus-
band, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the mem- 614
bers of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do
not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the 575
owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower [426]
may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained [551]
through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut
name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from [428]
other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until
he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name
of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the
details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the [556]
novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected
with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the
dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut
have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The [171]
highest degrees are the Elaxō'La (the hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the [554]
ō'lEx (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL
of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice
may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the Elaxō'La is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he 575
encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the 785
sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The
chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the cere- 787
monies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of [266]
his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Elaxō'La. The
offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was
made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the
Elaxō'La order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of
the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast.
He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one [785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all [787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone [152] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the [774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try [756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the Elaxō'La dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large [292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. [301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ā'Lpsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that [532] of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some Elaxō'La do not [171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and [266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The Elaxō'La has to observe a number of regulations. [525] For four years after his initiation he must not [834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

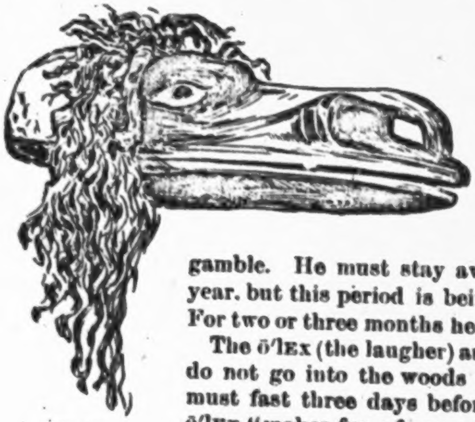

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bi'lxula.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lEx (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lEx "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lEx and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when 688 the Elaxō'La gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in [692] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing 575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub- 688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted 754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis- 756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around